

SOVIET LIFE

November 1977 • 75 cents

SPECIAL ISSUE:
WHAT THE SOCIALIST STATE
GIVES THE PEOPLE



YEARS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

SOVIET LIFE

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We . . . assert that the Soviet Revolution has given an unprecedented impulse to the development of democracy in breadth and in depth, democracy, that is, for the working people oppressed by capitalism, democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people, socialist democracy (for the working people) . . .

V. I. Lenin



literature, sports.

NOVEMBER 1977, No. 11 (254)

SOVIET LIFE

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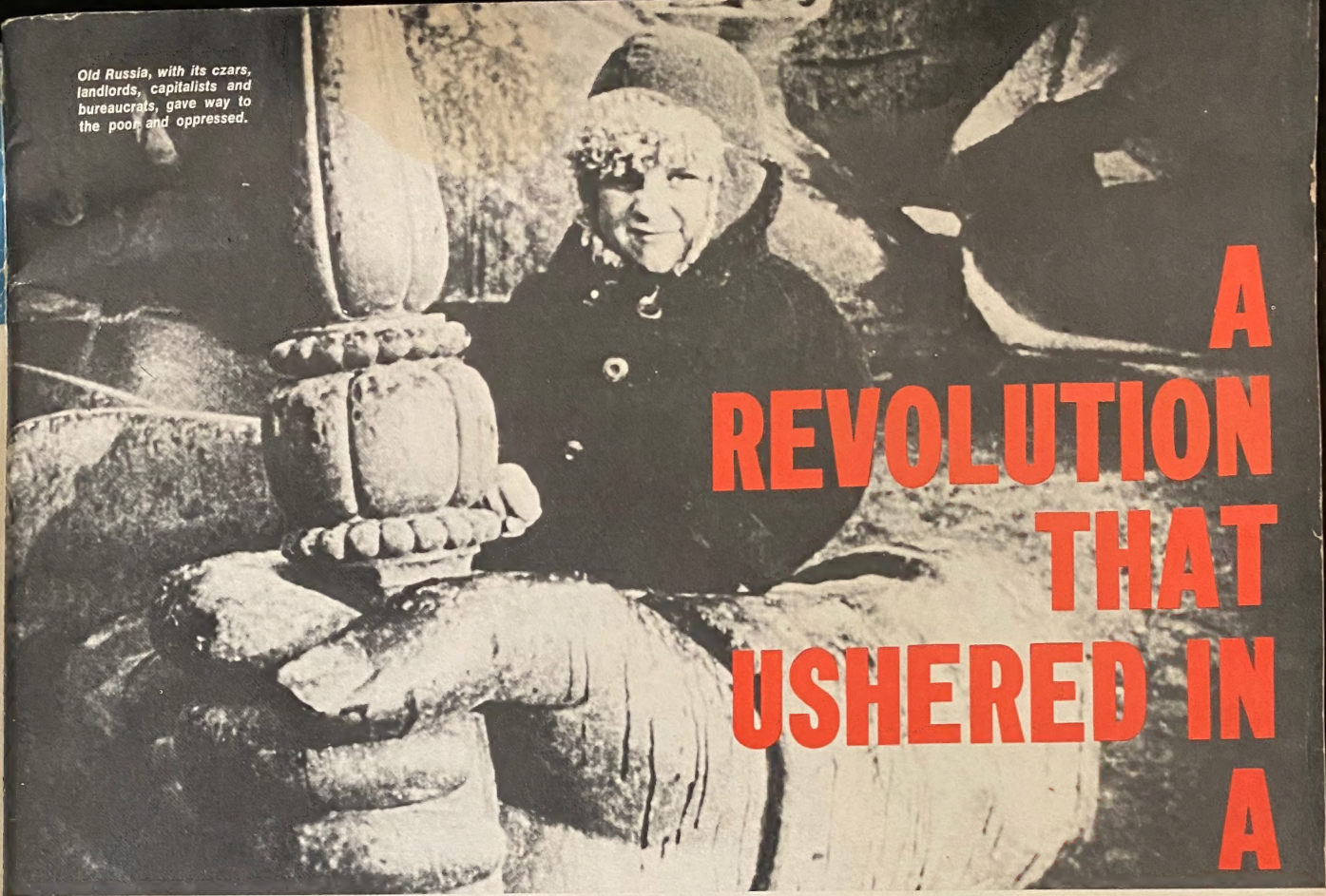
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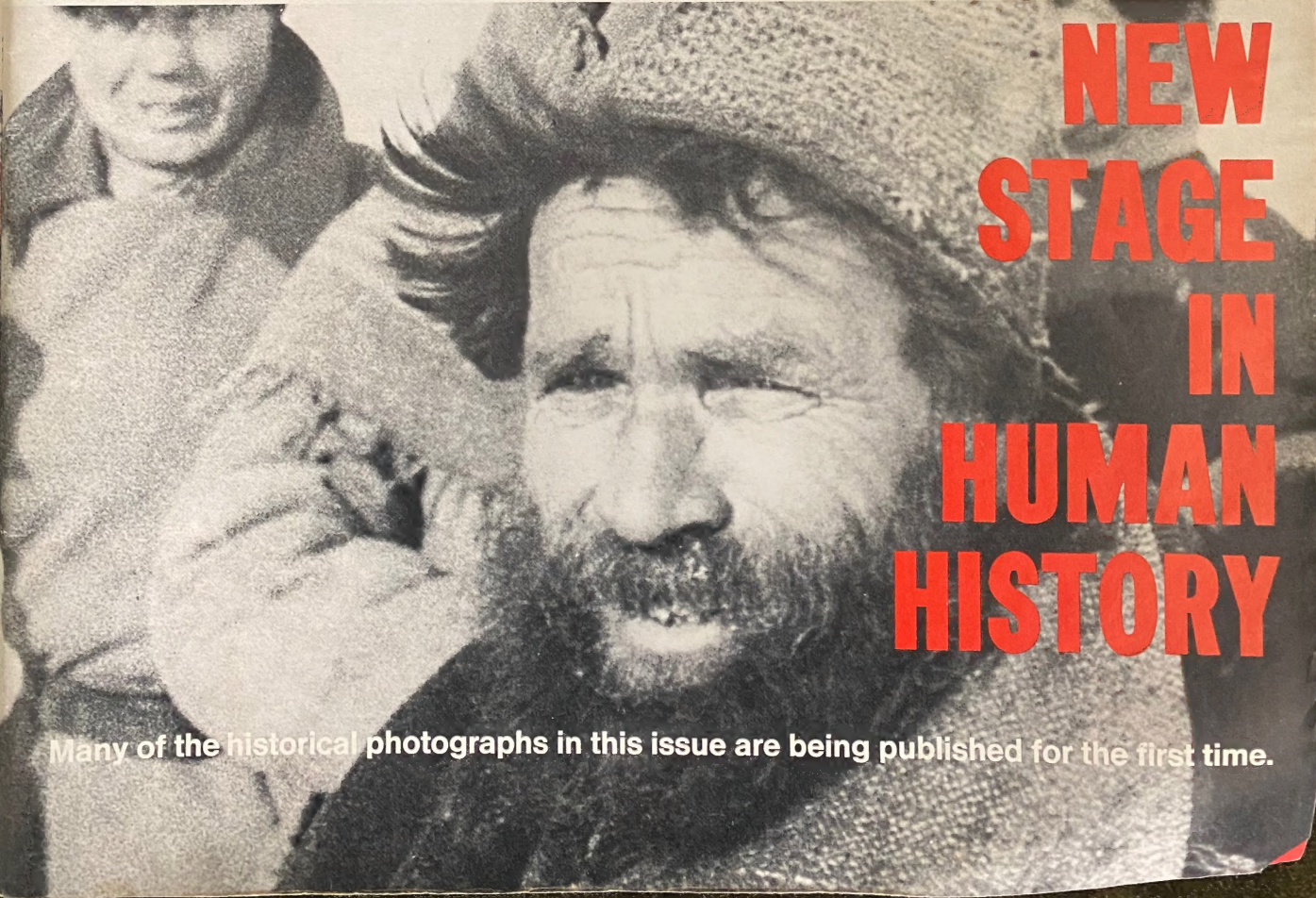


Vladimir Lenin's arrival in Petrograd
in April 1917. Reproduction of the
painting by Konstantin Akayonov.



Old Russia, with its czars, landlords, capitalists and bureaucrats, gave way to the poor and oppressed.

A REVOLUTION THAT USHERED IN A



NEW STAGE IN HUMAN HISTORY

Many of the historical photographs in this issue are being published for the first time.

It has been Russia's lot to see most clearly and experience most keenly and painfully the sharpest of sharp turning-points in history as it swings

round from imperialism toward the communist revolution. In the space of a few days we destroyed one of the oldest, most powerful, barbarous and brutal of monarchies. In the space of a few months we passed through a number of stages of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and of shaking off petty-bourgeois illusions, for which other countries have required decades. In the course of a few weeks, having overthrown the bourgeoisie, we crushed its open resistance in civil war. We passed in a victorious triumphal march of Bolshevism from one end of a vast country to the other. We raised the lowest strata of the working people oppressed by czarism and the bourgeoisie to liberty and independent life. We established a Soviet Republic, a new type of state, which is infinitely superior to, and more democratic than, the best of the bourgeois-parliamentary republics. We established the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasantry, and began a broadly conceived system of socialist reforms. We awakened the faith of the millions upon millions of workers of all countries in their own strength....

V. I. Lenin

THE OCTOBER UPRISING TRIUMPHS

On the Eve

In mid-September 1917 Lenin wrote:

"The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of both capitals [in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets-Ed.], can and must take state power into their own hands."

On October 23 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party adopted a resolution proposing that the party organizations settle all practical questions proceeding from the fact that the armed insurrection is inevitable and that the time for it is fully ripe."

A Revolutionary Military Committee was set up to prepare for the uprising.

Practically 100 per cent of the 800,000-strong proletariat of Petrograd supported the revolutionary forces. By November 6 there were more than 23,000 men in the ranks of the Red Guard [workers' detachment]. Not a single armed worker defended the Provisional Government.

There were about 250,000 men in the Petrograd garrison. Practically all the military units sided with the Bolsheviks. The men of the Baltic Fleet were wholly on the side of the Revolution.

What forces could the Provisional Government count on? The military schools (though not all), the junior officers' schools, a few Cossack units and the women's strike battalion. Kerensky managed to concentrate several armed units, no more than 2,000 strong, at the Winter Palace, the seat of the Provisional Government.

How It Began

Kerensky started the armed action. At 6 A.M. on November 6 he ordered a detachment of cadets to seize the printing shop of the Bolshevik paper *Rabochi Put* (Workers' Road). By 8 A.M. the detachment was driven out. During the day the revolutionary soldiers and Red Guards took over the premises of 14 bourgeois papers. Then they secured the bridges across the Neva River, the railroad terminals, the telegraph office, post office and many of the government buildings. At about midnight on November 6-7 Polkovnikov, commander of the Petrograd Military Area, reported in panic to the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander:

"The situation in Petrograd is precarious. There have been no secret actions, and there is no disorder. However, the government agencies, railroad terminals, are being taken over in keeping with a plan. No orders are being carried out."

Polkovnikov further requested General Headquarters to send him punitive troops from the front. But at that very hour the radio station of the cruiser *Aurora* transmitted an order to the revolutionary units defending the approaches to Petrograd to block the passage to all who might try to force their way to the capital.

"Send dozens of propagandists to meet any unit that might be heading toward Petrograd to explain to the men that certain quarters are trying to set them on the people."

The revolutionary word proved more effective than the bayonets. The troops rushing to the assistance of Kerensky were stopped without a single shot being fired.

Revolution Accomplished!

At 10:00 A.M. on November 7 Prime Minister Kerensky fled from the Winter Palace in a car belonging to the embassy of a foreign power. That same morning a leaflet with the text of an appeal written by Lenin was being posted in the streets of Petrograd. It was immediately transmitted to all the other big cities of Russia by telegraph.

At 2:35 P.M., welcomed by stormy applause, Lenin addressed a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet. His report opened with the following words:

"Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished."

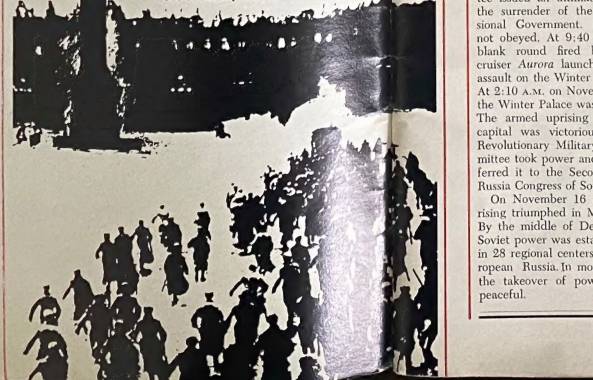
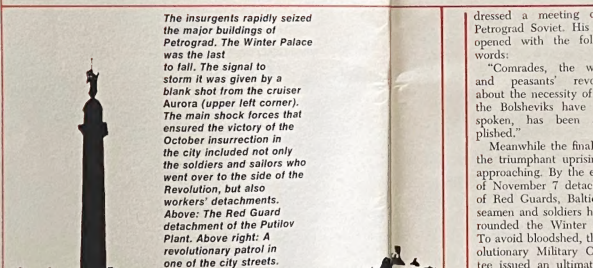
Meanwhile the final act of the triumphant uprising was approaching. By the evening of November 7 detachments of Red Guards, Baltic Fleet seamen and soldiers had surrounded the Winter Palace. To avoid bloodshed, the Revolutionary Military Committee issued an ultimatum for the surrender of the Provisional Government. It was not obeyed. At 9:40 P.M. a blank round fired by the cruiser *Aurora* launched the assault on the Winter Palace. At 2:10 A.M. on November 8 the Winter Palace was taken. The armed uprising in the capital was victorious. The Revolutionary Military Committee took power and transferred it to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

On November 16 the uprising triumphed in Moscow. By the middle of December Soviet power was established in 28 regional centers of European Russia. In most cases the takeover of power was peaceful.

ON INSURRECTION

To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a revolutionary upsurge of the people. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon that turning point in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the history ranks of the people is at its height, and when the advanced vacillations in the ranks of the enemy and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution are strongest. That is the third point.

V. I. Lenin



TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA!

The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and the garrison.

The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured.

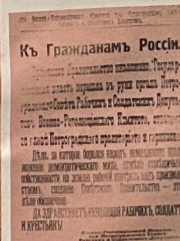
Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!

Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies

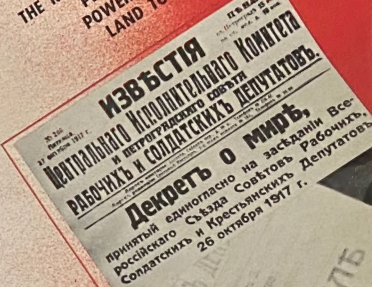


Comrades, working people! Remember that now you yourselves are at the helm of state. No one will help you if you yourselves do not unite and take into your hands all affairs of the state. Your Soviets are from now on the organs of state authority, legislative bodies with full powers.

V. I. Lenin

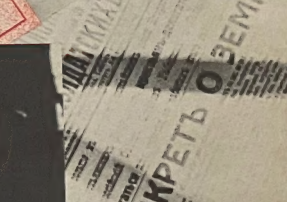


THE REVOLUTION PROCLAIMED:
PEACE TO THE WORLD,
POWER TO THE PEOPLE,
LAND TO THE PEOPLE



ИЗВЕСТИЯ
ПЕТРОГРАДСКОГО СОВЕТА
РАБОЧИХ И СОЛДАТСКИХ ДЕПУТАТОВ

Декретъ о мирѣ,
принятый единогласно на заседаніи Все-
російскаго и Мѣстныя Рабочихъ,
Солдатскихъ и Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ
26 октября 1917 г.





Top: March 1, 1918—the Kaiser's troops enter Kiev.
Second photo: March 9, 1919—Entente troops land in Murmansk. A Russian Communist is shot on board a British boat.
Third photo: 1919—French troops in Odessa.
Fourth photo: That same year in the Far East, which the Japanese had invaded—a punitive group after a raid into a Siberian village.
Bottom: Americans arrive in the Far East.

Hands Off Soviet Russia!

Speaking to the United States Congress on January 7, 1919, Senator Robert La Follette said:
"I say of this Soviet Government, of which we know so little, it is the sort of government that 130 or 140 million people of Russia want, that is their business and not ours, nor the business of any other government on earth, and, whatever the pretext, no government should intrude itself into their affairs. . . .
" . . . Whether the Russian Government is good or bad, according to our standards, it is not for us to attempt to overthrow it. We have enough to do at present right here in the United States and are likely to have for some time to come in making living con-

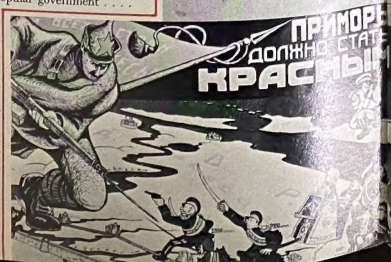
ditions more tolerable and in restoring peace and prosperity and self-government to our own people. The first step in that process is to withdraw our soldiers from Russia. . . ."
William Borah stated in the U.S. Senate on September 5, 1919:
" . . . While Congress has not declared war, we are carrying on war with the Russian people. . . . It is to speak frankly and plainly, a plain usurpation of power to maintain troops in Russia at this time. There is neither legal nor moral justification for sacrificing these lives."
In the autumn of 1919 Seattle dockers refused to load weapons for White Admiral Alexander Kolchak. Baltimore dockers followed suit.
By the end of 1919 about a million Americans had signed a petition to Congress calling for an end to the economic blockade of Soviet Russia and the evacuation of all foreign troops from its territory.



Inglorious End Of Intervention

"The Allied intervention and blockade caused widespread suffering in Russia, but as for overthrowing the Bolshevik government, they proved fruitless," American historian Philip S. Foner writes. "The fall of the Bolshevik government was a regular feature in the U.S. It fell with a regularity that in time became tedious. Altogether, if the New York Times was to be believed, it fell or was about to fall 91 times in a period of two years from November 1917 to November 1919."
By the beginning of 1920 the failure of the intervention was obvious. In January 1920, the blockade against Soviet Russia was lifted by the Entente powers. The United

States, however, maintained it until July 7, 1920.
The American intervention commander in Siberia, General William Sidney Graves, wrote subsequently: "I doubt if any unbiased person could ever hold that the United States did not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. By this interference the United States helped to bolster up, by its military forces, a monarchistically inclined and unpopular government."



Commanded A Regiment At Sixteen

The 16-year-old commander was Arkadi Gaidar, who fought in the Civil War and later became a writer of children's books. He wrote: "When people ask me how it happened that I was made a commander at such a young age, I usually answer that it was the times that were unusual, not the story of my life."

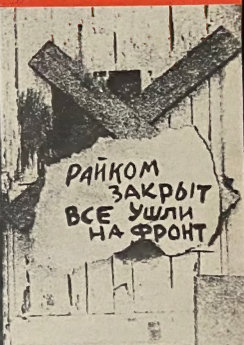
Right: Grigori Kotovsky led a cavalry brigade that fought General Denikin's troops on the Southwestern Front. Far right: Vasili Blucher was the first military leader to be awarded the Order of the Red Banner.



Famous Red Army Commanders: Left: Mikhail Tukhachevsky, former czarist officer, became commander of the Eastern Front during the Civil War at age 24. Right: Vasili Chapayev commanded the 25th Division, which fought Admiral Kolchak's army on the Eastern Front.



Eight million killed and wounded, several million dead from starvation and epidemics—that was the toll of the Civil War. Vast expanses of the country were theaters of war for long periods, and that meant not only the death of millions, but the destruction of towns and villages, of factories and mines, of railways and farms, of all valuable



things—from wheat and cattle to ships and industrial equipment looted by the enemy and taken out of the country. What the enemy could not take, it simply destroyed. The material losses that Soviet Russia suffered at the hands of the interventionists and the White Guards came to almost 40 billion rubles (according to incomplete official data).



New recruits. Members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League were the first to be sent to the fronts of the Civil War.
Left: Have You Volunteered? a poster by Dmitri Moor.
Right: The notice on the locked door of a local Komsomol Committee reads: "District Committee closed. Everyone gone to the front."

Left: The interventionists and the White Guards were defeated. The map of the country could be colored red—the symbol of revolutionary power. Only in the East was there a white area: the Maritime Territory, still held by the Japanese. The poster reads: "The Maritime Territory Must Become Red."
Right: Outstanding commanders of the Civil War: (from left to right) Samyon Budyonny, Mikhail Frunze, and Kliment Voroshilov.



Bred by the Entente and Japan

These are lines of a song that was popular during the Civil War, a song that ridiculed Admiral Alexander Kolchak, the self-appointed "supreme ruler of Russia." In 1919 alone, the United States, Britain, France and Japan sent Kolchak 700,000 rifles, 3,050 machine guns, 600 cannons, scores of planes and tons upon tons of ammunition.

A British greatcoat, A French dress coat, Japanese boots— Make a ruler of Omsk.

NEW MAN IN THE MAKING: STEP BY STEP

A revolution is the great day of the oppressed and exploited. Never can the mass of the people be such an active maker of a new social order as in a revolution....

V. I. Lenin

Let us leaf through the yellowed pages of the newspapers of 1918-1926. Some of the items published here may sound naive, but they reflect the spirit of the times—the emergent new life, new relationships and new psychology.

Keep in Revolutionary Step . . .

Newspapers in those years were full of slogans calling upon the masses to restructure life along revolutionary lines and remove all barriers set up by czarism and bourgeois society: "Comrade, raise your hammer higher still!" "Awaken the dormant!" "Down with disregard for man, this poisonous lichen that thrives on the stagnant morass of bureaucracy!" "Death to the old world!" "Turn the bureaucrat and red-tapist out of the Soviet state apparatus!"

Time To Wake Up

Despite the four years of the Revolution, antagonism has not disappeared between men and women workers at the factory previously owned by Podobedov. It was customary for men to look upon women workers as inferior beings, long-haired but short-witted, and keep them out of active work. Only in the recent period, after intensive work, is this antagonism beginning to disappear. At the close of December the factory committee was re-elected. The men workers at first refused to elect women but later, after hearing a district organizer's report, unanimously voted for them.

In general, we must note the factory's women workers have recently started to take an active interest in community affairs. Well, it is high time for them to wake up.

Pravda, 1922

Worker- Managers

Yesterday evening at the worker-managers' school of the USSR Supreme Economic Council, 40 executives for the textile and metalware industries were given their graduation certificates at a formal presentation.

Congratulations the graduates, 95 per cent of whom were industrial workers, a representative of the SEC said that the immediate task—to give our socialist industry qualified Red managers—was thus almost solved and that the mastering of all production processes was now the order of the day.

Izvestia, 1926

Old World Shows Its Teeth

Most of the young workers in the universities are eking out a miserable existence—fates for whom the grapes are "green." Half, if not more, will achieve nothing. They will be just declassed snobs, uprooted from the working class, resentful of the more fortunate "bourgeois," and no more. They will break their necks in the depths of university science and be left social misfits, unhappy, despised and dangerous.

White Guard newspaper Za Svobodu (For Freedom) 1923

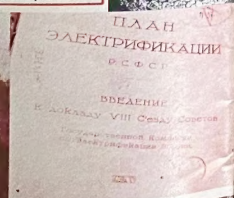
"Long live the transfer of all mills and factories into the hands of the Soviet Republic!" cries the banner above the textile workers from Likino (below). Banners and posters were popular art forms in the early years of Soviet power. "The maker of a new life" is symbolically portrayed (right) by poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. Bottom: A poster by L. Simakov—"Children are our future. We should give them the best of everything!"



On December 20, 1920, the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets approved the plan for the electrification of the country. Lower right: Cover of the document. Bottom right: Power engineer Gleb Krzhizhansky reporting to the Congress. Russia could create a powerful economy and catch up with the advanced countries only through electrification. Electricity reached the most remote villages. Lower left: A peasant's home. Bottom left: The first rural power station, in Kashino, 1920.



The West trumpeted that Russia had sold and spent on food all the treasures belonging to the czar's family. The former crown jewels were put on display in Moscow in 1925 for the diplomatic corps. They are now kept in the Diamond Fund, open to the public.



Assistant to the Judge

No one should fear that he may not have the skill or ability to administer justice. For the fulfillment of the duties of a people's assessor you must just be an honest man, possess a clear conscience and common sense, and be able to distinguish truth from falsehood and the innocent from the culprit.

Article 11 of the Provisional Instructions on the Organization and Activities of Local People's Courts in Tver'skaya Guberniya Izvestia of the Tver Soviet, 1918

You Ask—The Editor Answers

Readers were writing in to ask Rabochaya Gazeta (Workers' Newspaper) all kinds of questions:

"Can we achieve socialism in one country? If so, then how, and if not, then why?"

"Does the Moscow pawnshop serve the interests of working people?"

"May a Komsomol member light the icon lamp at the request of his parents?"

"Do we need workers' credits?"

Answers were sometimes laconic. For example:

Q: Does a Communist, when being called up for active military service, enjoy any special privileges?

A: A Communist enjoys the same privileges as all workers and peasants.

Rabochaya Gazeta, 1925

We Decide for Ourselves

I am an entirely different person now, as compared with 1922. Today for me there is neither God, nor the devil, neither paradise, nor hell. I regard the working people as the king of nature.

Krasnoye Stuchestvo (Red Students), 1926



Above: Ruby stars, symbols of Soviet power, are installed on the spires of the Kremlin towers. The Kremlin is the seat of the Soviet Government. All major national celebrations take place at Red Square. Right: This photo of Vladimir Lenin was taken during a festive demonstration in Red Square.



Battle on Three Fronts

The tasks of the youth in general... might be summed up in a single word: learn...

Only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture.... You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.... You should not merely assimilate this knowledge, but assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but enrich it.... If a Communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable Communist indeed. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal....

Illiteracy was no obstacle in the struggle for power, in the need to destroy the old state machinery.... But illiteracy harmonizes badly, in fact, does not harmonize at all, with the tasks of restoration.

V. I. Lenin

FROM TUNDRA AND TAIGA

"The world's first workers school for Northern and Eastern peoples opened on October 30, 1923, at Detskoye

Selo near Petrograd." *Izvestia* reported in November 1923. "One hundred and six people representing 26 nationalities, mostly hunters and reindeer breeders, have come to study. The new educational institution is to be the center of education for the culturally backward peoples of the USSR."

Leading Soviet scholars tutored the first students (in 1930 the workers school was reorganized and renamed the Institute of Northern Peoples). Under their guidance adult students from the tundra and the taiga not only

mastered the institute's curriculum, but also helped to create written alphabets for their national languages. Many graduates went on to set up an educational system in the Far North, many became chairmen of collective farms and party and local government officials.

The Institute of Northern Peoples was a kind of cradle for the new literature that was being written. Among its students were the founders of modern Chukchi, Yukaghir, Nenets and Evenk literatures.



Above: John Reed at the Presidium of the Congress of Peoples of the East, Baku, 1920. Among other things, the new government inherited from czarism mass illiteracy. Below right: The poster reads: "An illiterate man is like a blind man, whom pitfalls and misfortune await at every turn."



UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The First Congress of Soviets of the USSR opened in Moscow on December 30, 1922. It was attended by 2,214 delegates—Russians, Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Latvians, Tajiks, Estonians and other nationalities. The Congress approved the Declaration and the Agreement on the Formation of the USSR.

Initially the Union included the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The Congress elected the supreme body of state power of the USSR, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, four chairmen, Mikhail Kalinin from the RSFSR, Grigori Petrovsky from the Ukrainian SSR, Nariman Narimanov from the Transcaucasian SFSR and Alexander Chervyakov from the Byelorussian SSR.

БЕСПЛАТНАЯ МЕДИЦИНСКАЯ ПОМОЩЬ ТРУДЯЩИМСЯ!

Рабочие, работницы и члены их семейств имеют право получить БЕСПЛАТНО:

Лечение в амбулатории
Лечение в стационаре
Врачи и персонал
Лекарства и перевязочные материалы
Средства санитарно-гигиенического назначения
Восстановительное лечение
Средства ухода за детьми
Средства ухода за престарелыми
Средства ухода за инвалидами

РАБОЧИЕ И РАБОТНИЦЫ!

Пользуйтесь бесплатно медицинской помощью! Примите участие в устранении ее недостатков через страховую кассу.

A 1918 placard announcing that from then on everyone had the right to free medical care. It explained that anyone who was sick was entitled to a hospital bed, to medicines, glasses and prostheses, a bed in a maternity home, nursery care for a baby, accommodations at rest homes and sanatoriums, all free of charge. That had enormous significance for Central Asia, where infant mortality was high, where there was no medical care to speak of, and where epidemics wiped out whole villages.

...Only... attention to the interests of various nations can remove the grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely cannot be peaceful relations between peoples....

V. I. Lenin



Dmitri Moor's placard symbolizes the friendship of the Russians and the peoples inhabiting the Caucasus—Armenians, Azerbaijanis and others. Ruled by governors appointed by czarist Russia, they fought side by side with the Russians for the establishment of Soviet power and their independence.

Voluntary and Honest Alliance

In the era of czarism the nations of Russia were systematically incited one against another. The results of this policy are well known: massacres and pogroms on the one hand, and the enslavement of the nations on the other.

This shameful policy of incitement has ended, and there must be no return to it. Henceforth, it will be replaced by a policy of voluntary and honest alliance between the nations of Russia.

In June 1917 the First Congress of Soviets proclaimed the right of the nations of Russia to freedom of self-determination. In November 1917 the Second Congress of Soviets endorsed this inalienable right of the nations of Russia in

a more decisive and definitive form.

In pursuance of the will of these Congresses, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to base its activities with regard to the nationalities of Russia on the following principles:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the nations of Russia.

2. The right of the nations of Russia to freedom of self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states.

3. Abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions whatsoever.

4. Freedom of development for the national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

The specific decrees necessitated by this will be drawn up immediately after a Commission on Nationalities Affairs has been formed.

From the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia November 15, 1917

STOP ANTISEMITISM

According to information reaching the Council of People's Commissars, counter-revolutionaries in many cities, especially in the front-line zone, are carrying out pogrom agitation which in places has led to excesses against the working Jewish population. The bourgeois counterrevolution is taking up the weapon which fell from the hands of the czar. Every time it had to ward off popular anger, the autocratic government directed it against the Jews, telling the unenlightened masses that the Jews were the source of all their troubles....

Now the counterrevolutionaries have resumed persecution of the Jews, taking advantage of the famine, exhaustion and benightedness of the most backward masses....

The Council of People's Commissars declares the anti-Semitic movement and Jewish pogroms to be ruinous to the cause of the workers' and peasants' revolution....

The Council of People's Commissars instructs all the Soviets of Deputies to take decisive action to eradicate the anti-Semitic movement....

July 25, 1918
From a Decree of the Council of People's Commissars

BEARING A MANDATE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

At the suggestion of the Kamchatka Regional Revolutionary Committee, the bearer of this letter, the Chukchi Tevlyanto from Anadyr, is being sent to obtain an education in the schools of Russia so that, when he returns home after several years, he can pass on to his kinsmen the knowledge he has gained. He has spent his whole life in the forbidding and severe tundra, in conditions unique to the North beyond the Arctic Circle.

We most earnestly ask those who may read this letter to give all possible help to Tevlyanto if he should ask for it. He fully deserves this because, despite his total illiteracy, he is one of the most gifted and inquiring young Chukchis of the Anadyr district. By caring for this citizen, you will help the Kamchatka Regional Revolutionary Committee take the first steps to educate the nomadic indigenous population of our Far Northeast who, as the tenth year of the October Revolution approaches, do not have a single illiterate person.

A letter from the Chairman of the Anadyr Revolutionary Committee (Chukotka), dated August 17, 1926
Svernyaya Azia No. 2, 1927

To all appearances artist Vladimir Anderson has depicted a scene common in Central Asia: a caravan of loaded camels led by a guide on a donkey. The title, however, is A Red Train in Samarkand, pointing out the meaning of the scene—the camel train is bearing textbooks and manuals.



Here are a few of the decrees adopted in the first months after the Revolution:

- on the Abolition of Estates and Civil Ranks;
- on Raising Pensions for Workers;
- on Disability Insurance;
- on Commissions for Minors;
- on Freedom of Conscience;
- on Unemployment Insurance Regulations;
- on Supplements for People's Teachers;
- Rules for the Organization of Public Education in the Russian Republic;
- Resolution on V.I. Lenin's Report on the Fight Against Famine.

HISTORY IN STAMPS

From top to bottom below: issued in 1918, this is the first Soviet stamp to commemorate the first anniversary of the October Revolution. Interesting from the artistic and ideological standpoint is this stamp depicting an emancipated proletarian, issued in August 1921. Representatives of different nationalities hail the red banner and Lenin's signature on this stamp issued in 1932.



Lenin

by Maxim Gorky

Vladimir Lenin is dead. Even some of his enemies have been honest enough to admit that the world has lost "a surpassing genius, one far greater than any of his great contemporaries."

His arm reaching forward and slightly raised, his palm which seemed to weight every word, sitting the comments of his opponents, replacing them with cogent arguments to prove the right and duty of the working class to go its own way and not trail behind or even advance side by side with the liberal bourgeoisie.

In the autumn of 1918 I asked a worker from Sormovo, Dmitri Pavlov, what he thought was Lenin's most striking quality. He answered, "Simplicity. He is as simple as truth itself."

He had a certain magnetism that attracted the hearts and minds of working people. He did not speak Italian, but the fishermen of Capri who had seen Chialapin and many other noted Russians, somehow instinctively gave Lenin a special place. His laughter was charming, the hearty laughter of a man who saw clearly the ineptness of human folly and could appreciate the acrobatic cunning of the mind, who could relish the childlike naiveté of the "pure of heart."

An old fisherman, Giovanni Spadaro, said of him: "Only an honest man could laugh like that."

Especially significant to me was Lenin's uncompromising and unfading enmity toward human suffering, his firm belief that misfortune is not the inevitable foundation of life, but an evil man can and must sweep away. It was an unusual and extraordinary thing to see Lenin in the park at Gorki, so much has the idea of him become associated with the picture of a man sitting at the end of a long table, smiling and expertly and skillfully guiding the comrades in their debate, his keen eyes of a pilot sparkling; or standing on a platform with head thrown back, casting clear, distinct words to the hushed crowd, to the eager faces of the people thirsting for truth.

Passion was part of his nature, but it was not the self-seeking passion of a gambler. In Lenin it manifested itself in that exceptional spiritual energy of a man who believes in his cause, a man fully and deeply aware of his ties with the world, who knows his role in the chaos of the world, the role of an enemy of that chaos. With the same enthusiasm he could play chess, look through the *History of Dress*, argue for hours with his comrades, catch fish, trudge along the stony paths of Capri, heated by the southern sun, admire the golden genista blossoms and the smudgy chil-

dren of the fishermen. And in the evening, listening to tales about Russia, about village life, he would emit an envious sigh: "I know too little of Russia. Simbirsk, Kazan, Petersburg, exile, and that's about all."

He loved funny things and laughed with all his heart, sometimes till tears ran down his cheeks. He could endow his short, characteristic exclamation "hmm-hmm" with an infinite range of shades, from cutting irony to wary doubt, and often one could hear in his "hmm-hmm" the biting humor which only a very clear-sighted man, well-versed in the devilish absurdities of life, is capable of.

Stocky, with the forehead of a Socrates and all-seeing eyes, he would often assume a strange and somewhat comical pose—head thrown back and bent to

one side, his thumbs hooked in the armholes of his vest. And there was about this pose something very dear and funny, something boyishly triumphant, and at such moments he all but glowed with joy, a great child of this wretched world, a wonderful man who had to sacrifice himself to enmity and hatred for the sake of love.

I often spoke to Lenin about the cruelty of revolutionary tactics and life.

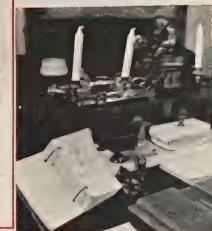
"What do you expect?" he would ask with surprise and anger. "Is humaneness possible in such an unusual and bitter fight? Where can mercy and magnanimity be manifested here? Europe is blockading us, we are cut off from the help of the European proletariat, like bears counterrevolution—hems us in on all sides, and what are we to do? Is it not our right, our duty, to fight, to resist? Thank you, we are not such big fools. We know that what we want no one will achieve for us but we ourselves. Do you imagine that if I thought otherwise I would be sitting here now?"

An exceptionally strong-willed

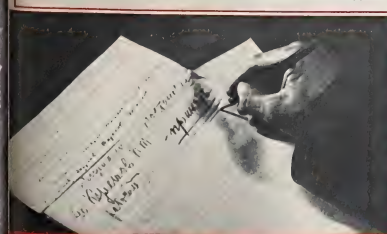
Nadezhda Krupskaya, wife and associate of Lenin, at his funeral. Below: The peasants of the village of Gorki, where Lenin died, follow his coffin to the railroad station. Bottom: Grief written on his face.



Lenin's desk in his study in the Kremlin; the room is now a museum. Below: Lenin's death on January 21, 1924, was a national tragedy. The whole country mourned its leader. Despite the severe cold, hundreds of thousands assembled in Red Square for the funeral.



Soon after Lenin's death an appeal went out to join the party. It was called the Lenin Enrollment. In a short time more than 240,000 people (mostly workers) applied.



man, Lenin had all the traits of the best revolutionary intelligentsia.

In 1919, a year of severe deprivation, he was ashamed to eat the food brought to him by comrades, soldiers and peasants from the country. When parcels were brought to his humble lodging, he frowned, was embarrassed and hastened to pass on the flour, sugar and butter to those comrades who were sick or weakened by hunger. Once, when he was inviting me to dine with him, he said, "I shall give you some smoked fish—it was sent to me from Astrakhan," and with a frown on his Socratic forehead and turning his sharp glance away from me, he added, "They send things to me as though I were a lord! How can I prevent their doing it? If you refuse and don't accept it, they are hurt. And everyone round me is hungry."

Undemanding, unused to wine and tobacco, working hard from morn till night, he never thought of himself, but kept a keen eye on the welfare of his comrades.

can't they get an expert cook there? People working literally until they faint, they must be fed good food so that they will eat more. I know there is very little food to be gotten, and what there is, is bad—they must get a good cook there." Then he quoted the opinion of some hygienist about the part played by seasoning in the processes of eating and digestion. I asked, "How do you find time to think about such things?"

He retorted with another question, "About rational feeding?" and by the tone of his voice I understood that my question was out of place.

He paid himself too little heed to talk about himself with others, and like no one else, he could keep to himself the secret tempests in his soul. But once in Gorki, fondling some children, he said:

"They will live better than we. Much of what we undergo they will not experience. Their lives will not be so hard."

And looking off into the dis-

Lenin's personal impact on events both in his own country and in the world outside may well have been greater than that of any other individual in this century.

Leonard Schapiro

Lenin, the great philosopher and strategist of the revolution, proved as great in laying the foundation for a new civilization. His last task was indeed the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)—a new type of multinational state.

J. D. Berna

The personal picture of Lenin, with which I have found no disagreement in speaking with a number of people who are well informed, is that he is a man of most extraordinary ability, and with some truly fine characteristics. He was a Russian idealistic noble and came to be a man of only one idea. He believed that the regime of capitalism meant slavery and that the world would find freedom in a communistic state of society. In his mind every motive was fine, every act moved by patriotic love and sympathy for people.

Frank Vanderlip

Sitting at the desk in his office, he would write swiftly and talk while writing: "Hello, how are you feeling? I'll be through soon. There's a comrade here from the country, he's lonely and evidently tired. We must give him some support. A man's mood is no small matter."

Once I came to him in Moscow. He asked, "Have you dined?"

"Yes."

"You are not making it up?" "There are witnesses. I dined in the Kremlin dining room."

"I heard that the dinners are bad there."

"Not bad, but could be better."

He immediately asked for details. "Why bad? In what way could they be improved?" and began to mutter angrily, "Why

tance, he added thoughtfully: "And still I do not envy them. It has fallen to our generation to carry out a task of historical significance. The harshness born of necessity that has been a feature of our life will be understood and exonerated. Everything will be understood, everything."

Vladimir Ilyich, a great and true man of this world, is dead. This death has sorely wounded the hearts of those who knew him.

And never has there been a man as worthy as he of memory everlasting.

Vladimir Lenin is dead. But the heirs of his thought and will are alive, alive and working more successfully than anyone, anywhere in the world, has ever worked before.

ART FOR THE PEOPLE, BUT NOT "MASS CULTURE"

Will the new socialist system actually give the artist this freedom? I do not propose to paint reality in glowing colors. We are going through a painful transitional period, a civil war, famine and economic dislocation on which the day of victory has just dawned. For some time come we will be talking of the birth throes of the new society, not of its normal operation. But the socialist society does imply the greatest freedom for the artist. As we mature, we shall provide a propitious and respected environment for our art students, our graduates launching their art careers and our past masters in art. We will be able to say to them as we would to birds in a tree: "Sing what your heart tells you to, without concern for your livelihood."

This is the statement of the problem which follows from our socialist plan. The closer we come to solving this problem, the greater will be our victory, the more complete will be the artist's victory over the market, over the customer, and the more freely will art pour out of the human heart. But freedom alone is not sufficient. Freedom is merely the absence of some positive concept and, in this sense, it is a purely negative concept.

Nietzsche was quite right when he said: "Freedom, freedom, you say, my brother, but freedom for what?" I may be free, my hands and legs may not be tied, and I may go to the left or to the right, do something heroic or mean, but it does not follow from this that freedom is a positive concept. Thus, to liberate a madman or a criminal is hardly something positive. Apart from liberating the artist, the new, socialist society gives his work direction and meaning. Socialist society will give an infinitely greater inner content to the artist's life than the society in which he has lived hitherto. It will give breadth, monumentality, power, universality, majesty to his values.

From the speech by Anatoli Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education, at the opening of the Free Studios in Petrograd in 1919

Possessed Of Such A Creative Urge

Life was terribly hard: gruel or dried fish, burst sewer pipes, epidemics. . . . On Prechistenka Street in Moscow, at the Military-Chemical Academy, the cadets suggested that I teach them versification. They wanted to write in iambic, trochaic, even blank verse.

A model of Vladimir Tatlin's "Monument to the Third Internationale," symbolizing the unity of nations. Tatlin was the first to create complex sculpture in architecture.

Diligently they scanned and sought out rhymes. There was neither the time nor the paper for prose, but poetry had free reign. Now we celebrate Poetry Day, and poets hold forth in book-shops and attract autograph hunters. In those days poems were recited everywhere—on the boulevards, at railway terminals, in cold factory shops, and it was not just Poetry Days but a whole poetry epoch. I remember a request forwarded to the Union of Poets, a Red Army unit that was being shipped south to wipe out Wrangel's troops inviting Vladimir Mayakovsky, Sergei Yesenin, Boris Pasternak or any other poet to see soldiers off with some verse. . . . Now, when we leaf through the books of poets known far beyond our land, we see how many wonderful poems were written in the years of military communism. People had never lived so poorly and, it seems, had never been possessed of such a creative urge.

Ilya Ehrenbourg

Property Of the People

Here is a list of some of the first decrees of the Soviet Government signed by Lenin:

- on the nationalization of the Tretyakov Gallery;
- on the prohibition of efforts to take art objects and antiques out of the country;
- on the recognition of scientific, literary, musical and artistic creations as the property of the state;
- on the exemption of public entertainments from state taxation;
- on the amalgamation of the theaters;
- on placing the photography and motion picture industries under the control of the People's Commissariat of Education;
- on the protection of the monuments of nature, gardens and parks.

Publishing The Classics

The former Adolf Marx Publishers received an order from the People's Commissariat of Education for the publication of all the Russian classics. They have a five-year monopoly.

The publishers are soon to start printing the following authors: Nekrasov, Gogol, Griboyedov, Turgenev, Fonvizin, Zhukovsky, Chekhov and Koltsov.

Each book will come out in no fewer than 100,000 copies.

From Krasnaya Gazeta, Evening issue, March 1, 1918

Fyodor Chaliapin, known to almost every Russian before the Revolution, but heard by only the few who were privileged to attend the Imperial Theaters. After the Revolution his beautiful voice entertained many a workers' audience.



MORE ACTORS THAN SPECTATORS

People exhibited an astonishing bent for artistic creation. "Different editorial offices get so many poems, it is impossible to publish even a one-hundredth part of them," wrote Kolonna magazine Bolshevik on February 3, 1917.

On April 4, 1918, *Izvestia*, published by the Kolonna Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, said: "Everyone has gone theater-mad in Kolonna—every one acts, including babies in swaddling clothes. There are more actors than spectators."

DESPITE THE TERRIFIC PRICE

Comrade Artamonov told us how a State Publishers' agent came to the factory, and despite the terrific price of the books, most of the workers bought them up on an installment payment basis.

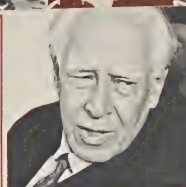
From Young Communist, 1926

Vsevolod Meyerhold, one of the directors who revolutionized the theater. Mass plays like *The Taking of the Winter Palace* (left) were a new art in which thousands participated.



Art belongs to the people. It must take root in the thick of the working masses. . . . It must combine the feelings, the thoughts and the will of those masses and elevate them. It must awaken the artist in them and develop them.

V. I. Lenin



Many leading cultural figures adopted the new way of life and worked to make their art accessible to the masses. Among them were (above) Konstantin Stanislavsky, the great reformer of the theater; (right) Maxim Gorky, the father of socialist realism in literature, here with French writer Romain Rolland; (below) poet Sergei Yesenin, speaking at right.



The upsurge of creative activity among the people was extraordinary. They were interested in absolutely everything. And so much was new! Left: An Armenian folk group performs in the street. Above: Home of the Soviet Writers Congress.

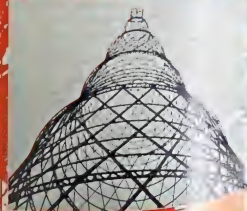


IT WAS A FUSION OF METAL, YEARS AND MEN. . . .

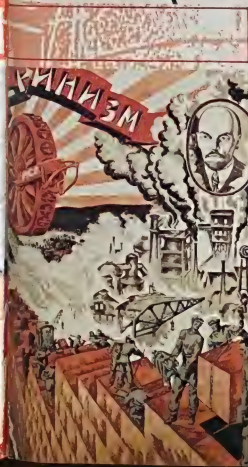
The flourishing
of ideas,
initiative,
creativity was
the most
impressive
result of
the Revolution.

Boris Kornilov Poet

Komsomol Member and Workers' Faculty Student, by Nikolai Kasatkin. The people were not only eager to build and create, they had an insatiable desire to study as well. Hundreds of special schools for workers were organized. Today we find workers' schools mentioned in many of the biographies of prominent Soviet specialists.

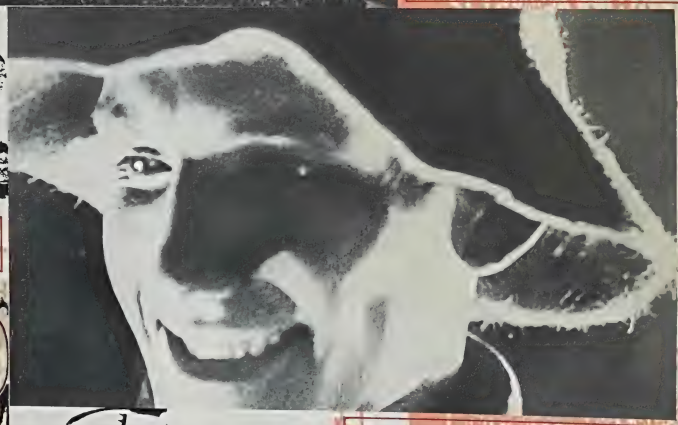


"This is Radio Moscow," the call of the radio signalled the beginning of a new working day. The station was built in the capital in 1926.



We have thousands of inventors, shock workers, highly skilled workers—both men and women. An army of absolutely extraordinary men and women has emerged and taken shape from among the working people who in the recent past were illiterate, wild, lazy and indifferent toward their fate, who patiently shouldered the unbearable burdens of their lives—from these people, from their midst. The five-year plan not only builds gigantic factories; but also creates people of colossal energy. Hundreds of these new people are already holding down responsible militant posts next to the old fighters of the working class who spent half a lifetime learning to work in underground organizations, prisons, exile and penal servitude.

Maxim Gorky



The first five-year plan periods were heroic and romantic years. The whole country was one gigantic construction site. Locomotives with the banner "Our password is Magnitostroy" rushed thousands of volunteers to the Urals to build the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Mill. The first furnace was operating in January 1932, and in October the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station was finished (center). The plane (at right), the Maxim Gorky—over 40 tons—was an accomplishment for the aviation of those times.

CONSTRUCTION BOOM

It was a difficult period for the country, especially the first few years after the Civil War. Large-scale industrial production in 1921 had fallen to a seventh of 1913. One in every six factories was not working.

By the early twenties the number of people without jobs topped a million. One month after the 1917 October Revolution, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree on providing insurance for the unemployed. The money for benefits came from taxes imposed on private businesses and from funds allocated by the central government and local legislative bodies. Early in 1918 the first employment agencies were set up, and by the middle of that year there were more than 250. Economic dislocation affected urban and rural areas alike. In December 1927 the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union mapped out the First Five-Year Plan for the economic development of the country. The plan called for a 230 per cent rate of growth for heavy industry and the construction of 1,500 large plants. By the end of the first five years the new enterprises were to account for one-third of the country's industrial output. The First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of time.

The rapid development of industry, construction and transport required millions of workers, and so the number of unemployed began to decrease. As industrialization began, the number of people attending vocational schools rose. In 1930-1931 some 730,000 were enrolled in vocational schools (compare this against 70,000 in 1928-1929). This, too, helped eliminate joblessness among the youth.

In the late twenties the country began collectivization of agriculture. By the end of 1930 more than 33 per cent of the individual peasants were collectivized, and by 1935 over 83 per cent. The big collective farms envisaged a higher level of agricultural production and called for skilled personnel. That explains why upwards of 800,000 people were enrolled in schools for young collective farmers. In the summer of 1930 the Labor Market Council noted that the number of unemployed was "approaching zero." On October 20, 1930, the Central Committee of the Communist Party was in its resolution: "The great successes achieved in socialist industrialization and the accelerated development of collective and state farms have done away with unemployment in the Soviet Union." There has been no unemployment since.

Western Experience

Projected, Five-Year Plan Completed in Four

The draft of the First Five-Year Plan (begun in 1929), drawn up by the Supreme Economic Council and the USSR State Planning Committee, prompted a lively

debate throughout the country. Some economists suggested that industrial development rates be set at 10 or 11 per cent a year. However, the chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, Valerian Kuibyshev, urged a 20 per cent rate.

The First Five-Year Plan, endorsed by the Fifth Congress of Soviets of the USSR in 1929, was fulfilled in four years.

1500 Major Projects

During the First Five-Year Plan period 1,500 new industrial projects were begun.

Construction of 40 electric power stations was started, including the Dnieper, then the world's largest. Industrial construction was particularly intense in Central Asia and the Caucasus, once outposts of czarist Russia.

NEW INDUSTRIES

Under this headline the January 1, 1933, issue of *Izvestia* listed the following: Machine-tool construction (specifically the production of automatic and semi-automatic machine tools), instrument making (especially the production of metal-cutting tools and control and measuring instruments), automobiles, tractors, combine harvesters, aluminum,

aviation, dirigibles, potassium, nitrogen, synthetic rubber, plastics, synthetic fibers, shale, watchmaking and clocks.

AN AMERICAN RECALLS HOW IT WAS

Rollo Ward, an American who was invited to take the



job of senior foreman at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, recalls:

"Never in my long years of experience did I have occasion to do business with a greener bunch. To tell the truth, I was scared from the start. How could these youngsters be taught to handle intricate machinery?"

"I thought no one would understand me, no questions would be asked."

"No questions! They heaped questions upon me, giving me no rest. They were not content with brief replies, they wanted to know more and more. It was then that I became aware of the gaping difference between the capitalist system and that of the country I was visiting for the first time."

"When people in my country ask me about the future of the Soviet Union, I tell them about the young men and women moving ahead to their chosen goals. I say:

• "Isn't it clear to you that the future belongs to them? Look at them, they're fine boys and girls. They're okay."



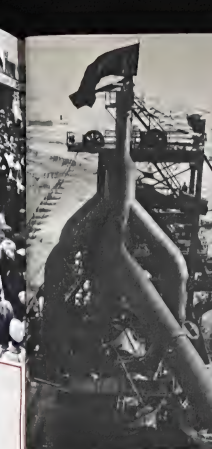
Farm labor was undergoing a change. The time of large collective farms and mechanization had arrived. Machinery that was being manufactured in the industrial centers of the country was sent first to the most backward regions. The train of tractors (right) bears the address: Central Asia. Outlying areas of the former Russian Empire were being developed at top speed to catch up with the central areas of the country. The socialist republic had no desire to have backward outlying regions.

Be the blast furnace of our Revolution, breathe hotly, react to everything, poke your nose into everything, take an interest in everything!

From an Appeal to the Youth by Alexander Kosarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, 1929



The first machine made at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, which opened on June 17, 1930. Left: A small experimental car manufactured at the Moscow AMO Auto Plant in 1932. Standing by it is Ivan Likhachov, director of the plant.



In 1927 men started to lay a railroad in a country bigger and wilder than the Old West to link Central Asia with Siberia. For the thousands of nomad herdsmen who saw a train for the first time and tried to outgallop it, the Turkals, as it was called, was more than a railroad. The whistle announced a life of machines, schools and medicines.



"Get Magnitka Going!"

This was one of the slogans most popular with the young men and women of the period.

The Komsomol took on the responsibility for the building of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Mill, a priority project of the First Five-Year Plan. Builders arrived at the site in 1929. A peasant named Igor Smerin later reminisced: "We

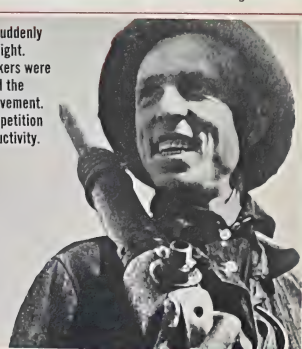
climbed out of the railroad car and looked around. There was nothing to see except snow-covered fields."

"Where is the town of Magnitogorsk?" someone asked the man who met us.

"You're standing on it." "Until you build it you will be living in tents," another added.

It was a hard beginning, but the young people stood up under all the trials. Construction of the town, a dam across the Ural River and an iron and steel mill began in the summer of 1930. Eighteen months later the mill was turning out steel.

Stakhanov was suddenly famous overnight. Thousands of workers were united behind the Stakhanovite movement. It became a competition for higher productivity.



STAKHANOV AND THE STAKHANOVITES

In 1927 a 22-year-old peasant named Alexei Stakhanov applied for a job in the mines at the Donets coal basin of the Ukraine. Since he had had no previous training, Stakhanov was sent to a special school, and within a few years he was regarded as a first-rate miner.

In 1935, responding to a questionnaire on how to improve work, Stakhanov suggested a new division of labor

that netted 14 times the average output of coal.

The new method was picked up by many miners, and the Stakhanovite movement came into being as workers in other industries followed suit.

The Stakhanovite movement accounted for much of the 82 per cent rise in labor productivity in industry during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan (the target figure had been 63 per cent). In construction, labor productivity jumped eight points over the goal of 75.

Today Stakhanov lives in Tomez, a small town in the Donets area. He has been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

ENGINEERING STUDENTS INCREASE

Back when the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station was being built, a delegation of Italian manufacturers touring the project asked the construction chief how many workers were taking the various technical courses offered. "Ten thousand," was his answer.

"Then who is working?" the visitors inquired.

"The same people who are studying." This conversation could have taken place at any major construction project during the First Five-Year Plan period. In 1928 there were only seven qualified specialists for every 1,000 workers (40 engineers in the Western countries). Within the next four years close to 68,000 engineers were graduated.

"UNREALISTIC" PLAN WORKS

The builders of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station pledged to finish the dam six months ahead of schedule. Hugh Cooper, head of the team of American consultants on the project, called the plan "unrealistic." Cooper was an experienced hydraulic engineer. He had helped design and build the famous power plant at Niagara Falls, the "Wilson Dam," and a dam in Egypt. His opinion was regarded with respect. Nevertheless, the builders finished ahead of schedule. Many of the builders were decorated by the government. Hugh Cooper was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor for his assistance in organizing the construction of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station.

FACTS AND FIGURES

- The number of building workers increased five times during the First Five-Year Plan period. Every other worker in industry was a builder.
- The Third Five-Year Plan (1938-1942) called for doubling the industrial output of 1937 by the end of 1942.
- In prewar 1940 the USSR produced 166 million tons of coal, 15 million tons of pig iron, 18 million tons of steel.
- From 1938 to 1940 over-all industrial output increased by 45 per cent.
- The Kolomb (Russian for Columbus) was one of the two ships that brought the first party of builders up the Amur River from Khabarovsk to the site of the future city of Komsomolsk.

HISTORY IN STAMPS

From top to bottom below: This stamp was issued in 1930 to promote the popular movement to fulfill the first Five-Year Plan in four years. Dneproges Dam—one of the biggest construction projects undertaken during the First Five-Year Plan period. The stamp marks the fifteenth anniversary of Soviet power.



Far from extinguishing competition, socialism, on the contrary, for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really wide and on a really mass scale, for actually drawing the majority of working people into a field of labor in which they can display their abilities, develop the capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people . . .

V. I. Lenin

The Peasants Size Up the Situation And Make Their Choice

WEIGH EVERYTHING CAREFULLY

Every politically conscious socialist says that socialism cannot be imposed upon the peasants by force and that we must count only on the power of example and on the mass of the peasants assimilating day-to-day experience. How would the peasants prefer to pass to socialism? This is the problem which now confronts the Russian peasants in practice. How can they support the socialist proletariat and begin the transition to socialism? The peasants have already tackled this transition, and we have complete confidence in them.

V. I. Lenin

EXPERIENCE OVERCOMES HESITATION

An encouraging example of the new movement was the Red October Collective Farm, not far from the Ural Mountains, organized in 1924 by the nine poorest families in the village.

They elected a young Communist who had fought in the Civil War, Pyotr Prozorov, to be their chairman. The farm did well, and its members began to prosper. Other peasants joined, and by the end of the third year almost all the people in the village were members. The farm built itself an electric station. Pilgrimages were made to the farm. Peasants from other villages went there to see for themselves whether the stories about that out-of-the-way northern village were true.



Upper right corner: "Union between country and town" was a very popular slogan of those times. It meant that workers gave the peasants a hand by supplying them with much-needed technology and by going to the countryside to help organize the first collective farms. Above: The peasants flocked en masse to the collective farms in the early thirties. The experience of neighbors convinced them that collective labor on commonly owned land was far more effective and was the only way to escape poverty and build a new life in the countryside. It was of tremendous significance that the state offered material and financial assistance to the new farms. As a result, peasants everywhere voluntarily united into collective farms.

1935, Mikhail Kalinin, President of the USSR, presents the deed that turns over the land to one of Kazakhstan's collective farms for its use free of charge for an unlimited time.



THOMAS CAMPBELL COMMENTS

In the spring of 1928 the government decided to set up large state farms on land the peasants were not cultivating. Experience in grain growing in other countries was studied, including the 94,000-acre wheat farm of Thomas Campbell in the United States. Professor Nikolai Tulaikov, a well-known Soviet agronomist, made a study of the Montana farm, and his findings were reported in detail at a Plenum of the Central Committee of the party in July 1928.

Campbell was invited to the Soviet Union in 1929. He visited state grain farms and noted "the remarkable activity of a nation that is a mystery to the whole world." By the middle of 1929 the country had more than 3,000 state farms. The peasants

showed so much interest in them that if there was no state farm nearby they sent a committee to visit one in another district. Here, typically, is what one peasant delegate told his fellow villagers: "The sight of the farm with all those tractors and other machines and the people working together with a will made me want to stay there. Now all I can think about is a collective farm here, combining all the small farms of the poor and middle peasants into one big farm and running it the way a state farm is run."



Left: Collective labor was quick to produce results. Modern machines appeared on fields throughout the country. Peasants learned new trades. In 1928 more than a million tractor drivers and harvester operators worked in the countryside. The collective farm system was developing a solid economic base.

Once Soviet women received equality, they made use of it. Pasha Angelina organized the first women's tractor team in the country.

ABC COMMANDER

... We are on our way to the Annenskiy District to eliminate illiteracy. I come to the village of Saburovka and find all the people of its 170 farmsteads lined up to give me, their ABC commander, a proper salute.

My job is to teach two groups—one of illiterates (23 persons) and the other of semiliterates (45 persons). Although the first group had already had two months of instruction, it had not gone beyond page 8 of the ABC book, and when a new word cropped up, not a soul could make it out. The second group (of semiliterates) read pretty well but suffered from a different defect—lack of understanding of what was read.

What did I do? I got the first group off the ABC Book altogether and on to cutting out letters of the alphabet. We resorted to the ABC books for model reading only and for the reading of sentences with words we could put together out of the separate letters.

In the second group I took the advanced step from mechanical to conscious reading. Every article read was, as a rule, followed by questions, repetition and retelling. In this way we covered the themes—the drive to eliminate illiteracy, the five-year plan, the building up of collective farms. . . .

Entry in the diary of poet Sergei Chekmarev, 1929

FACTS AND FIGURES

- By August 1930, 21.4 per cent of the farms had united into collective farms.
- By June 1931, the number had jumped to 52.7 per cent.
- By 1932, 62.4 per cent of the farms (which owned 77.7 per cent of the sown land) had become collectivized. For the most part, collectivization had been completed in the country's main agricultural regions. Moreover, the social revolution in the countryside and the technical re-equipment of the rural areas had gone on at the same time.

HISTORY IN STAMPS

From top to bottom below: Construction of the famous Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Mill in the Urals is the theme of this stamp issued in 1932. Collective farms brought new life to the Soviet countryside. This stamp commemorates the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.



John Dewey 1928

The outstanding fact in Russia is a revolution, involving a release of human powers on such an unprecedented scale that it is of incalculable significance not only for that country, but for the world. . . .



THE PIATILETKA, OR RUSSIA'S FIVE YEAR PLAN

Under the plan, the peasant was to be brought close to industry by means of enormous model state farms and collective farms, and the whole country was to be industrialized by the erection of huge factories, hydroelectric power works, the working of mines and the like; and side by side with this, a host of other activities relating to education, science, cooperative buying and selling, building houses for millions of workers and generally raising their standards of living, etc., were to be undertaken. This was the famous Five-Year Plan, or the *Piatiletka*, as the Russians called it. It was a colossal program, ambitious and difficult of achievement in a generation even by a wealthy and advanced country. For backward and poor Russia to attempt it seemed to be the height of folly.

This Five-Year Plan had been drawn up after the most careful thought and investigation. The whole country had been surveyed by scientists and engineers, and numerous experts had discussed the problem of fitting one part of the program into another. For the real difficulty came in this fitting in. There was not much point in having a huge factory if the raw material for it was lacking; and even when raw material was available, it had to be brought to the factory. So the problem of transport had to be tackled and railways built, and railways required coal, so coal mines had to be worked. The factory itself wanted power for its working. To supply it with this power, electricity was produced by the water-power obtained from damming up great rivers, and this electric power was then sent over the wires to the factories and farms and for the lighting of cities and villages. Then again, all this required engineers, mechanics and trained workers, and it is no easy matter to produce scores of thousands of trained men and women within a short time. Motor tractors could be sent to the farms by the thousand, but who was to work them?

These are but a few instances to give you an idea of the amazing complexity of the problems raised by the Five-Year Plan. A single mistake would have far-reaching consequences; a weak or backward link in the chain of activity would delay or stop a whole series. But Russia had one great advantage over the capitalist countries. Under capitalism all these activities are left to individual initiative and chance, and, owing to competition, there is waste of effort. There is no coordination between different producers or different sets of workers, except the chance coordination which arises in the buyers and sellers coming to the same market. There is, in brief, no planning on a wide scale. Individual concerns may and do plan their future activities, but most of this individual planning consists of attempts to overreach or get the better of other individual concerns. Nationally, this results in the very opposite of planning; it means excess and want, side by side. The Soviet Government had the advantage of controlling all the different industries and activities in the whole union, and so it could

These are excerpts from Jawaharlal Nehru's "Glimpses of World History"

draw up and try to work a single coordinated plan in which every activity found its place.

This mighty effort embodied in the Five-Year Plan began in 1929. Again the spirit of revolution was abroad, the call of an ideal stirred the masses and made them devote all their energy to the new struggle. This struggle was not against a foreign enemy or an internal foe. It was a struggle against the backward conditions of Russia, against the remains of capitalism, against the low standards of living. . . . They lived a hard, ascetic life; they sacrificed the present for the great future that seemed to beckon to them and of which they were the proud and privileged builders.

A continuous propaganda in favor of the Five-Year Plan kept up the enthusiasm of the people and whipped them up to fresh endeavor. Great public interest was taken in the building of the huge hydroelectric works and dams and bridges and factories and communal farms. Engineering was the most popular profession, and newspapers were full of technical details about great feats of engineering. The desert and the steppes were peopled, and large new towns grew up round each big industrial concern. New roads, new canals and new railways . . . were built and air services developed. A chemical industry was built up, a war industry and a tool industry, and the Soviet Union began producing tractors, automobiles, high-power locomotives, motor engines, turbines, airplanes. Electricity spread over large areas, and the radio came into common use. Unemployment disappeared completely, as there was so much building and other work to be done that all available workers were absorbed. . . . Many qualified engineers came from foreign countries and were welcomed. It is worth remembering that this was the time when depression spread all over Western Europe and America and unemployment increased to enormous figures.

The work of the Five-Year Plan did not go on smoothly. There was often great trouble and lack of coordination and upsets and waste. But in spite of all this the tempo of work went on increasing, and the demand always was for more and more work. And then came the slogan "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years," as if five years had not been a short enough time for this amazing program! The plan formally came to an end on December 31, 1932, that is, at the end of four years. And immediately from January 1, 1933, a new Five-Year Plan was started.

People often argue about the Five-Year Plan. The thing is clear: that the Five-Year Plan has completely changed the face of Russia. From a feudal country it has suddenly become an advanced industrial country. There has been an amazing industrial advance; and the social services, the system of social health and accident insurance, are the most inclusive and advanced in the world. In spite of privation and want, the terrible fear of unemployment and starvation has gone. There is a new sense of economic security among the people.

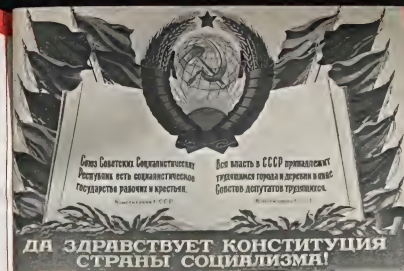
What is Soviet power? What is the essence of this new power, which people in most countries still will not, or cannot, understand? The nature of this power, which is attracting larger and larger numbers of workers in every country, is the following: In the past the country was, in one way or another, governed by the rich, or by the capitalists, but now, for the first time, the country is being governed by the classes, and more over, by the masses of those classes, which capitalism formerly oppressed. Even in the most democratic and freest republics as long as capital rules and the land remains private property, the government will always be in the hands of a small minority, nine-tenths of which consist of capitalists, or rich men.

In this country, in Russia, for the first time in world history, the government of the country is so organized that only the workers and the working peasants, to the exclusion of the exploiters, constitute those mass organizations known as Soviets, and these Soviets wield all state power. That is why, in spite of the slander that the representatives of the bourgeoisie in all countries spread about Russia, the word "Soviet" has now become not only intelligible but popular all over the world, has become the favorite word of the workers and of all working people. . . .

We know very well that there are still many defects in the organization of Soviet power in this country. Soviet power is not a miracle-working talisman. It does not, overnight, heal all the evils of the past—illiteracy, lack of culture, the consequences of a barbarous war, the aftermath of predatory capitalism. But it does pave the way to socialism. It gives those who were formerly oppressed the chance to straighten their backs and to an ever-increasing degree to take the whole government of the country, the whole administration of the economy, the whole management of production, into their own hands.

Soviet power is the road to socialism that was discovered by the masses of the working people, and that is why it is the true road, that is why it is invincible.

V. I. Lenin



A great revolution of which Russia has been the sword-bearer and crusader, has ushered in a new stage in human history. It is too early to judge the fruit it is going to bear. Such a colossal experiment, undertaken in the arduous conditions at the close of a disastrous war, amidst the devastation of Europe and the convulsions of the human soul embittered by the four years of foul massacre, could not have been carried out without groping,



blundering and immense suffering. The people who initiated this revolution must themselves have been the field it plowed. Whoever said "the Messiah" said "the Crucified." Indeed such heroic suffering, such superhuman tolerance, such gallant sacrifice and self-abnegating devotion to the idea of the Man of the Future, make all the other peoples indebted to the USSR.

Romain Rolland
1929

The challenge of communism is not bread for all or even cake; not freedom from insecurity and war—all of which might conceivably be assured to the fat-fed underlings of some other system. Communism proposes nothing less than the re-creation of the world in the unitary image of the toiling masses. With the perfection of the machine and the abolition of profits, the toil of the masses will diminish. They will have leisure and they will employ that leisure to create. Communism proposes that the actual workers shall be the new world's creators and its rulers.

Waldo Frank
1932

The field of race relations is one area in which the West can humbly learn

On December 5, 1936, the All-Union Congress of Soviets endorsed the Constitution of the USSR. The draft had been discussed for more than five months by over 50 million people. They contributed some two million proposals, additions, amendments and changes to the text.

In Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, before the Revolution colonies of czarist Russia, the native children were utterly illiterate. Conditions were even worse than they are now in Alabama. In Asia the czar supplied no schools for the education of the conquered peoples. . . . Now of course, in Soviet Central Asia all that is

changed. The world knows of this change. But the surprising thing to a visitor from abroad, coming to Uzbekistan or Turkmenia, is the rapidity with which this change has been brought about. In less than 10 years a new system of education has been introduced, and not only introduced but put into amazing working order. Teachers have been developed; students have been graduated; and illiteracy, not only of children but of adults, has been greatly reduced.

Langston Hughes
1934

I hope by now the reader has some idea as to what the USSR stands for. He may still be puzzled—as every visitor is until he learns—as to how, out of this welter of nations, peoples and tribes, of languages and dialects, of different religions and such varied social customs, the Communists have been able to create a homogeneous entity. . . . The way was the way of the educationist and psychologist. . . . The approach was never that the conqueror imposing tribute on the conquered, but that of the friend and equal offering help.

Beatrice King
1936

THE 1936 CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR

Each Soviet Constitution reflected the main features of a particular stage in the life of our state. Our first Constitution—the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918—codified the gains of the October Revolution and defined the class substance of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Constitution of the USSR of 1924 laid down the principles for the formation of a federal socialist state. The Constitution adopted by the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets on December 5, 1936, reflected the changes that had occurred in Soviet society since the adoption of the 1924 Constitution and codified the victory of socialism in our country.

The draft constitution was discussed by the Soviet people for over five months, that is, from the day it was published until the congress. Newspapers printed thousands of additions, amendments and comments that were taken into account in finalizing the text.

"All power in the USSR," Article 3 of the USSR Constitution reads, "shall be vested in the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies." The exercise of Soviet power is ensured by the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production. The Constitution introduced the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 123 proclaims the equality of rights of the citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race. All citizens are guaranteed the right to work, to rest and leisure and to education, as well as the right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, street processions and demonstrations.

A 274-DAY DRIFT IN THE ARCTIC OCEAN

There are two rivers, the Columbia and the Volga, and though they are on different continents, have different characteristics and pass through different mountains and forests, they flow peaceably on the same planet and finally merge in the same world ocean. So, too, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States of America should live in peace and join their efforts to make life better and more beautiful.

Valeri Chkalov

FOUR MEN AT THE NORTH POLE

When Soviet polar explorers Ivan Papanin, Pyotr Shyrshov, Ernst Krenkel, and Yevgeni Fyodorov landed at the North Pole in May 1937, they never suspected that they would become a legend for millions of their contemporaries.

Excerpts from two of the men's accounts follow.

We started out with the most difficult job of measuring the Arctic Ocean—its depth and water temperature at various levels. If the ancients had looked for the most backbreaking work for their criminals, hand operating a hydraulic winch would have suited their purpose perfectly.

The words "we must" were always in our minds and even influenced our relationships. We were trailblazers and guinea pigs rolled into one. And we realized that in either case we had no right to fail.

On January 21, 1938, the air pressure fell drastically. We had never experienced such a menacing compression before. Worried, Shyrshov rushed to take a look at his water tent and spied it on the other side of a newly formed crack in the ice. After that a snowstorm raged for five days. In places the crack widened to four or five meters.

Our troubles increased. The next thing we knew the

One meter equals 3.28 feet.

dark, snakelike crack had turned from the weather tent to our kitchen and dived right under the tent where we lived.

By the morning of February 19, Everything continued as before: Zhenya made his meteorological observations, Ernst transmitted the results and I lost four games of chess to Petya. Coming out of the tent, we saw a beam from a searchlight piercing the sky. At 1400 hours the ships had reached the edge of the ice and made fast. I could not control myself. I turned away, tears of joy running down my face.

From the Diary of Ivan Papanin, Leader of the Expedition
The men's unprecedented drift lasted for 274 days. Having traversed the distance from the top of the Earth to the shores of Greenland, they were finally taken off their melting ice floe by the Soviet icebreaker Taimyr.

The flight has proven to be fresh evidence of the Soviet Union's outstanding efficiency in the field of aviation. The flight has brought our countries closer together in time and space.

Admiral Richard Bird on the Chkalov-Baidukov-Belyakov Flight (1937)

Forty years have passed since establishing the station—North Pole 1—headed by Ivan Papanin (second from the right). To date all North Pole stations, including the operating NP-22 and NP-23, have logged almost 19,000 days drifting. Nearly 1,500 scientists have worked in the ice laboratories and more than 50 groups have explored this area. A distance exceeding 90,000 kilometers has been covered by the stations in the Arctic Ocean.

THE CHELYUSKIN RESCUE

THE steamship Chelyuskin, with a hundred passengers aboard—scientists, polar explorers and their families, left the port of Murmansk in August 1933 on a long voyage headed for islands in the Arctic Ocean to relieve a party of explorers who were due to return home. But ice stopped the Chelyuskin before it reached its destination.

On February 13, 1934, a huge ice mass was seen moving toward the stranded ship. Hurriedly, the essentials—foodstuffs, warm clothing, fuel and a radio transmitter—were unloaded onto the ice. With one exception, everybody had just enough time to abandon the sinking ship. A terrific blow from the ice tore the vessel's port side apart and threw the ship back some 10 meters.*

Within a few hours the Chelyuskin sank to the bottom of the Chukchi Sea.

A government rescue commission, formed the same day, sent the icebreaker Krasin and several planes to the scene of the accident. Forty dog sleds left the Dzhurav Cape, headed for the same spot.

"We are living in tents and sleeping in sleeping bags. We get into them dressed in our felt boots and quilted jackets. We will survive, we are strong people," Chelyuskin navigator Markov noted in his diary.

Bad weather held up the rescue flights for a long time.

* One meter equals 3.28 feet.

In 1932 on the icebreaker Sibiriyakov (below), Otto Schmidt (left) led the first expedition through the Northern Sea Route in a single season. The next year he headed another—however, it ended in failure. On February 13, 1934, the icebreaker Chelyuskin (top left) sank in the Chukotka Sea. All aboard abandoned ship. Two of the pilots who flew rescue flights from the ice floes to the mainland are below.

АЛЕКСАНДР КАЗАНЦЕВ
АРКТИЧЕСКИЙ
МОСТ

AN ARCTIC BRIDGE: FROM THE USSR TO THE USA IN TWO HOURS?

IN 1939 the 33-year-old engineer Alexander Kazantsev suggested the possibility of direct travel between the USSR and the USA via a tunnel floating 100 meters under the Arctic ice. In his provocative book *The Arctic Bridge*, Kazantsev proposed a tube-like metro-stretching tunnel stretching from Murmansk to Alaska across the Arctic Ocean. The perfectly straight pontoon bridge would be supported by steel ropes and anchored to the ocean floor. The bridge's branch pipes would rest on two smaller pipes

Even present-day supersonic aircraft is slower than the vehicles that could cover 4,000 kilometers* in two hours proposed in Kazantsev's book.

Kazantsev wrote the following in the preface to one of the editions of his science-fiction novel:

"The time will come when the mutual gravitation of people will smash the invented 'steel' and 'iron' curtains, and then intercontinental aircraft will be needed by passengers only and not as bomb-carriers: ocean-going press ships will be needed and not aircraft carriers; an Arctic bridge will be needed then.

The 71-year-old Kazantsev, a solidly built man wearing old-fashioned glasses and sporting a gray professorial beard, has retained his youthful enthusiasm.

"I am faithful to my ideas of the thirties," he said. "For me the Arctic bridge remains the prototype for intercontinental transport of the future."

The author of the best sellers *A Guest from Outer Space* (on the enigma of the Tunguska meteorite), *The Ice Returns* and *Stronger Than Time* is now completing his new novel, *The Dome of Hope*.

* One kilometer equals .621 miles.

In November 1934, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* polled 11 Moscow school-children. Some of the questions and answers follow:

What is your goal in life?
Lyudmila Atanasyova, age 11: I want everything to be free of charge for everybody.

Vasili Andreyev, age 14: I want to study and work.
What do you dislike most?
Marina Rait, age 12: I dislike inequality among classes, and children, too.

What would you do if you were Chairperson of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR?
Anatoli Makeyev, age 11: I would develop the taiga and raise the living standards of the peoples living there.
Yuri Timoshkov, age 14: I would give all working people good apartments.

HISTORY IN STAMPS

From top to bottom below: The most expensive Soviet stamp, it was issued to honor Gligzmond Levanevsky who tried to fly from Moscow to San Francisco via the North Pole in 1935. A Soviet dirigible, issued in 1932. Valentina Grizodubova, the famous Soviet pilot of the thirties.



STORM GATHERING OVER EUROPE, BUT WAR NOT INEVITABLE

The Congress Directive

From June 26 to July 13, 1930, the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party was held in Moscow. It instructed the party's Central Committee "to continue the firm and resolute policy of peace."

"To Make War Impossible"

On February 2, 1932, a general conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments opened in Geneva. Sixty countries participated. The Soviet delegation defined its position, "... to strive to make war impossible," and submitted a detailed plan for general and complete disarmament.

The Definition of Aggressor

Between July 3 and 5, 1933, a convention to define an aggressor was signed in London on the Soviet Union's initiative. A state was considered to be an aggressor if it was the first to commit one of the following actions: 1. The declaration of war on another state; 2. An invasion of the territory of another state by armed forces, even without the declaration of war; 3. An attack by ground, naval or air forces, even without the declaration of war, against the territory, naval vessels or aircraft of another state; 4. Naval blockade of the shores or ports of another state; 5. Support of armed bands invading the territory of another state.

"Let Us Pool Our Efforts!"

In September 1934, the Soviet Union accepted the invitation of 30 countries to join the League of Nations. In his first address to that body, Soviet representative Maxim Litvinov said he was aware that the League had no way of completely eliminating war. He was convinced, however, that given the firm will and unanimous cooperation of all its members, much could be done at any given moment to reduce to the minimum the possibility of war. This was a sufficiently honorable and noble task, whose fulfill-

ment would bring immense benefits to humanity.

The Soviet Government had been working at this for the entire period of its existence, he said. From now on, it wanted to pool its efforts with those of the other states represented in the League.

Treaties That Could Stop The Aggressor

On May 2 and 16, 1935, mutual assistance treaties were signed in Paris and Prague by the Soviet Union with France and Czechoslovakia. The countries committed themselves to render one another immediate assistance should any one of them be subjected to an unprovoked attack. However, the protocol of the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty included a reservation, at the insistence of the government of Czechoslovakia, that mutual assistance commitments would be in force between them only if the side that was the victim of aggression was given assistance by France.

Meeting Their Obligation

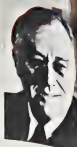
In the summer of 1936, General Franco staged his revolt in Spain. Hitler and Mussolini thereupon intervened with military forces against the Spanish Republican Government. The so-called policy of nonintervention adopted by the Western powers played into the hands of the aggressors. In a secret report at the time, one of Hitler's diplomats wrote that Britain and France were not to be taken seriously, that the risk was small and success assured.

TO LIVE LIKE GOOD NEIGHBORS

On October 10, 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, in a message to Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, proposed the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries. The negotiations between the U.S. President and Soviet representative Maxim Litvinov were concluded successfully on November 16, 1933. Later, Roosevelt cited, by way of illustration, an event in the sphere of foreign policy of which he was proud: the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States in 1933.



MIKHAIL I. KALININ, President of the USSR.
"Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov were the first to establish normal diplomatic relations between the two countries."
(From Kalinin's correspondence with Roosevelt)

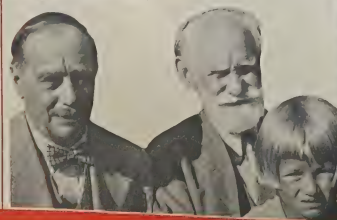


FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States.
"Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov were the first to establish normal diplomatic relations between the two countries."
(From Roosevelt's Public Papers and Addresses)

Mikhail Kalinin and Franklin Delano Roosevelt were both ardent supporters of good relations between the Soviet and American peoples. Below: Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov and U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull at the White House in 1934. Bottom: A demonstration in New York in support of the establishment of diplomatic relations.



Bernard Shaw said that at the Moscow railroad station he had been welcomed as though he were Marx himself! Below: H.G. Wells with Ivan Pavlov.



The Soviet Pavilion at the 1939 World's Fair in New York came as a revelation to many Americans—it was their first glimpse of the young Soviet state.

The well-known revolutionary Alexandra Kollontai was the first Soviet woman ambassador. She was an outstanding speaker and writer.



Above right: The Soviet Pavilion at the 1939 World's Fair in New York. Right: Several months after the Spanish people elected a Popular Front government in 1936, anti-fascist forces under General Franco rose up against the republican government. The photo shows a delegation of Spanish republicans at the 1937 May Day Parade in Moscow. Below: A rally in Moscow in 1936 in support of the Spanish Republic.



On October 16, 1936, Pravda and Izvestia published a telegram from Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), to José Días, leader of the Spanish Communists. The message said that the working people of the Soviet Union were only meeting their obligation in rendering all possible assistance to the revolutionary masses of Spain. They realized that the liberation of Spain from the yoke of fascist reactionaries was not the private affair of the Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive people.

A broad movement of solidarity with the Spanish people was launched in the Soviet Union. Money was collected, and volunteers joined the international brigades. Dozens of transports with arms, as well as tanks and aircraft, were sent to Spain from the USSR.

"Tomorrow It Might Be Too Late"

On March 12, 1938, Hitler's government sent its troops into Austria, thereby ending that country's existence as an independent state. On March 17 a statement was issued by the Soviet Government. It said, in part, that the Soviet Union was prepared to discuss with the great powers immediately, in the League of Nations or outside it, practical measures dictated by the circumstances. Tomorrow it might be too late, but today there still was time, provided all states, the great powers in particular, took a firm and unequivocal stand on saving peace collectively.

The British Government turned down the Soviet proposal.

Prepared To Meet Treaty Commitments

On April 26, 1938, in the tense atmosphere of threats by Hitler Germany against Czechoslovakia, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Kalinin declared that the treaty on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia did not forbid either one's coming to the other's assistance without waiting for France.

On September 21, in his speech at the plenary meeting of the League of Nations, Maxim Litvinov reiterated that the Soviet Union was prepared to meet its commitments as stated in the League of Nations Pact. Addressing the governments of the Western powers, he said that to avoid a problematic war today and experience a real and all-embracing war tomorrow—and, moreover, at the price of satisfying the appetites of insatiable aggressors and destroying and crippling sovereign states—was not acting in the spirit of the League of Nations Pact.

On September 29-30, Neville Chamberlain and Edouard Daladier concluded the so-called Munich Pact with Hitler and Mussolini. Czechoslovakia lost one-fifth of its territory, about one-quarter of its population and 50 per cent of its industrial capacity. The German border was 40 kilometers from Prague. This is how the aggressor was appeased. What for? In the first page of the Paris newspaper Le Matin an article appeared under the headline: "Let us direct German expansion to the East, then we in the West shall be calm."

THE LAST ATTEMPT

The War in Europe could have been prevented and Hitler and Mussolini forced to renounce any further plans of aggression had the outcome of the military negotiations between the Soviet Union, Britain and France, which took place in Moscow between August 12 and 21, 1939, been successful. The Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army, General Boris Shaposhnikov, declared that the Soviet Union could undertake a commitment to move against the aggressor in Europe 120 infantry and 16 cavalry divisions, 5,000 heavy guns, 9,000 to 10,000 tanks and 5,000 to 5,500 aircraft. The preparedness of the Soviet side for resolute and coordinated action was corroborated by Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, People's Commissar of Defense.

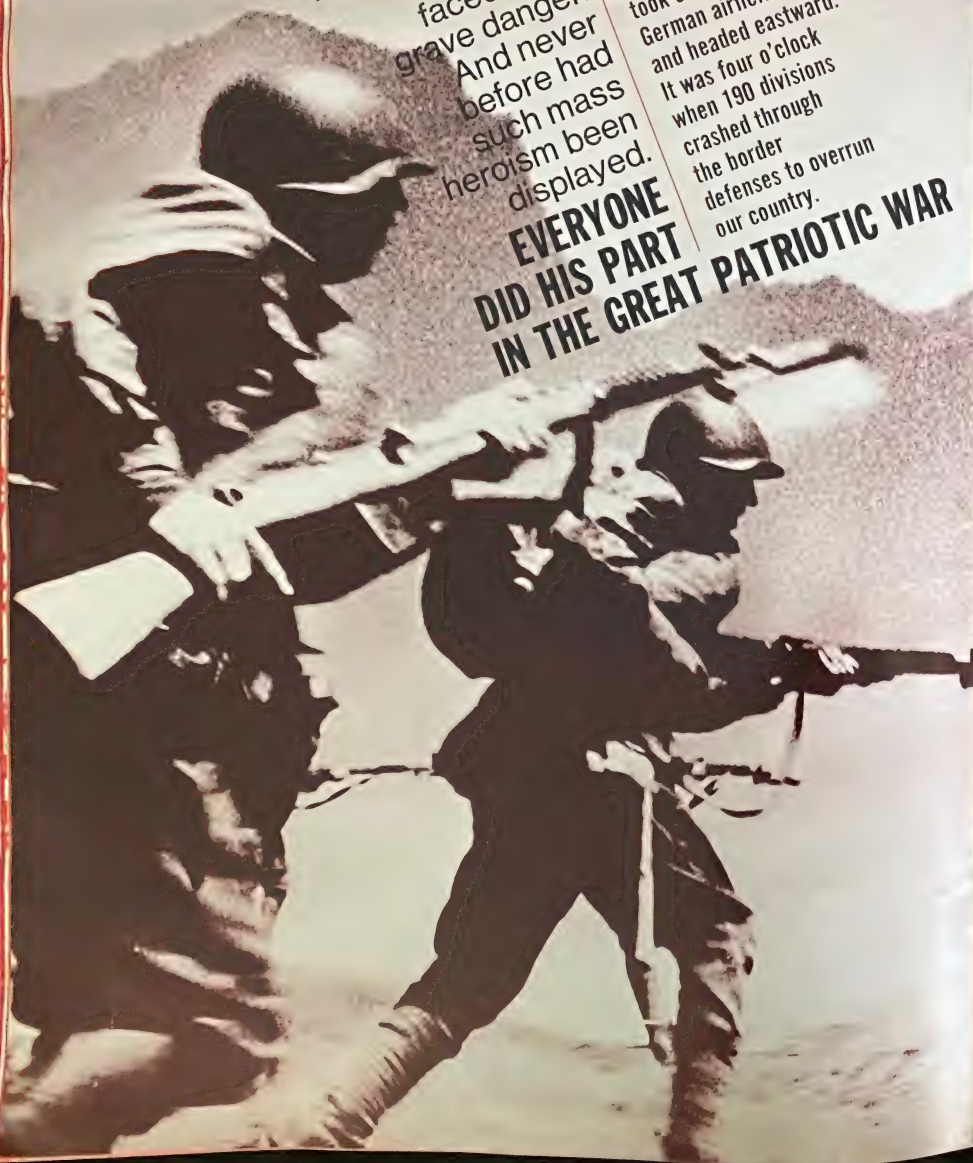
The British and French delegations, however, kept delaying the talks and avoided making concrete commitments and discussing realistic military plans. The hopelessness of the talks finally became obvious. The well-known French journalist Genevieve Tabouis wrote in her diary: "Send us, at least, a plenipotentiary delegation, the Kremlin insists. Bonnet and Chamberlain remain indifferent. Only some time later did they decide to send their delegations to Moscow. It will take them 15 days to reach their destination because they are to travel by boat! Voroshilov is angry. Bonnet and Chamberlain again did not empower their representatives. . . ."

On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Government was forced to sign a nonaggression pact with Germany. That pact delayed the Soviet Union's involvement in the war for almost two years.

Never before had
the world
faced such
grave danger.
And never
before had
such mass
heroism been
displayed.

**EVERYONE
DID HIS PART
IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR**

June 22,
1941. It was four
o'clock in the
morning when
3,900 aircraft
took off from
German airfields
and headed eastward.
It was four o'clock
when 190 divisions
crashed through
the border
defenses to overrun
our country.



Everything For the Front, Everything For Victory!

By 1942 the Soviet Union surpassed Germany in war output. At the same time, many new plants were being built in the Volga region, the Urals, Kazakhstan and other eastern areas. "Our nation is wielding a sword in one hand and a hammer in the other. The country is fighting and building," said the newspaper *Pravda*.

One item merits special mention. The contribution of Soviet women to the victory was tremendous. At factories and collective and state farms, they took the place of the men who had left for the front. By 1942 they constituted more than 50 per cent of the country's work force.

"If there were scales," Leonid Brezhnev once said, "on one side of which we could put the martial exploits of our soldiers and on the other the labor exploits of the Soviet women, the scales would probably stand firmly balanced, just as the heroic Soviet women stood firm and unflinching beside their husbands and sons in the storm of the war."

Partisan Hero

Nikolai Kuznetsov was a partisan engaged in intelligence. Before the war he worked as a draftsman at a factory. He taught himself German and acquired a perfect command of the language. When the war broke out, he was assigned to a partisan unit in the Ukraine. In the uniform of a Wehrmacht officer he carried out such operations as the removal of high-ranking occupants. In March 1944, at the age of 33, he was killed in a battle with a German patrol near Lvov. Below is an excerpt from a letter he wrote which was to be opened only in the event of his death.

August 25, 1942, 24:05. I bailed out to avenge the blood and tears of our mothers and brothers groaning beneath the yoke of the German occupation.

For 11 months I studied the enemy. Wearing a German officer's uniform, I penetrated into the lair of that satrap—Erick Koch, German tyrant in the Ukraine.

Now I switch to action.

I love life and I am very young. But if my motherland, which I love as dearly as my own mother, needs me to sacrifice my life, I shall not hesitate. The fascists must know what a Russian patriot and Bolshevik can do. They must know that our people cannot be vanquished, just as the Sun cannot be extinguished.

July 24, 1943

Stalingrad, the winter of 1943:
One of the fiercest battles
in the history of war. There
was hard fighting for every
square meter of land, for every
house and staircase landing.
On February 2 the Soviet
troops surrounded the enemy
and smashed its grouping
of more than 300,000 men.



Linkup On the Elbe

Two participants of this
momentous event in our mil-
itary cooperation against
fascist Germany say:

Joseph Polowsky:
"Our consciences and
our recollections tell us:
The logical conclusion for

both countries is that Amer-
icans and Russians must
and will meet again as
friends. Let us be as deter-
mined today as we were on
the Elbe. We must pool our
efforts to fulfill the oath that
we swore there."

A. Silvasenko, lieutenant in
the reserves and principal
of a school in Byelorussia:
"We were good soldiers
—today let us continue to
work for peace all over the
world with the same persist-
ence."



"OUR PEOPLE CANNOT BE VANQUISHED"

July 24, 1943



The Battle of Leningrad
lasted more than 900
days. Its entire
population together with
Soviet troops defended
the city. In the photo:
Antiaircraft gunners
beat back a fascist
air raid. Below: The
Battle of the Kursk Bulge
(Central Russia) was one
of the greatest tank
battles of World War II.



Moscow, June 24, 1945:
The banners captured
from the Nazis are
flung to the ground
at the foot of
Lenin's Mausoleum
at the Victory Day
parade.

WARTIME LETTERS

The Soviet youth newspa-
per *Komsomolskaya Pravda*
carried more than 10,000
readers' letters during the
war years. Here are a few.

To Our Sons

June 24, 1941

At this grim hour, as you
go off to fight the fascist
bandits for our freedom
and happiness, we Soviet
mothers say to you, dear
sons, fulfill your duty so
that every mother can be
proud of her fighting hero-
son. We will work in the
fields without respite so that
you are supplied with every-
thing you need.

Collective farmers
from Altai Territory
Fyokla Salenova
Sofya Krenyshnaya
Mariya Mamonova
Arina Stepanova

In the name of the
people of the
United States of
America, I present
this scroll to the
City of Stalingrad
to commemorate
our admiration
for its gallant
defenders whose
courage, fortitude,
and devotion
during the siege
of September 13,
1942 to January
31, 1943 will

Above: The Soviet
flag was hoisted on
top of the Reichstag
on May 2, 1945. It
was the end of the
stubborn battle for
Berlin, in which
2,500,000 Soviet men
and about 1,000,000
Germans participated.
The fighting in the
city itself went on
for more than a week.
The last enemy
grouping surrendered
at 3 P. M. on
May 2. There were
short exchanges of
fire here and there,
but it was clear
Berlin had fallen.
Above left: Partisans
operating on enemy-
occupied territory,
like the boy and the
old man in the picture,
rendered the regular
army great assistance.

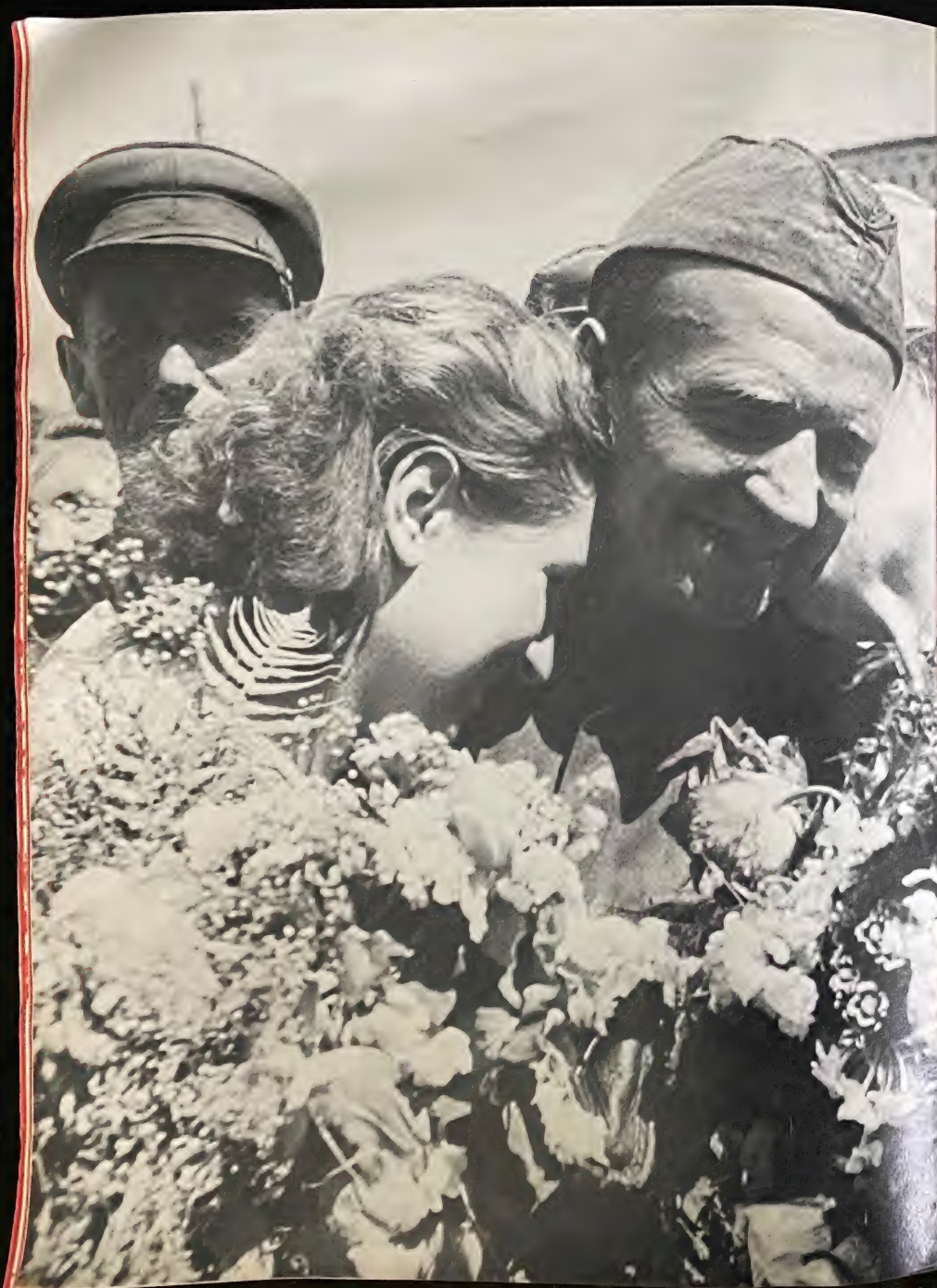
"Stalingrad Is at My Back"
October 18, 1942
Dear comrades at *Komsom-
olskaya Pravda*,
I want to tell the whole
country about Guards De-
puty Political Instructor Las-
tovsky. I can't write much,
the situation doesn't permit
it. The Germans will soon
be pushing forward. So I'll
be brief.

Three German tanks ap-
peared on the hillcock and
stopped as if undecided. It
was a trying moment; our
antitank rifle crew had been
put out of action, and the
German tanks were actually
free to roll over us. At
that very moment Lastovsky
dashed toward the anti-
tank rifle emplacement right
under the enemy's heavy
fire. Flames enveloped two
of the tanks one after an-
other.

inspire forever
the hearts of all
free people. Their
glorious victory
stemmed the tide
of invasion and
marked the
turning point in
the war of the
Allied Nations
against the forces
of aggression.

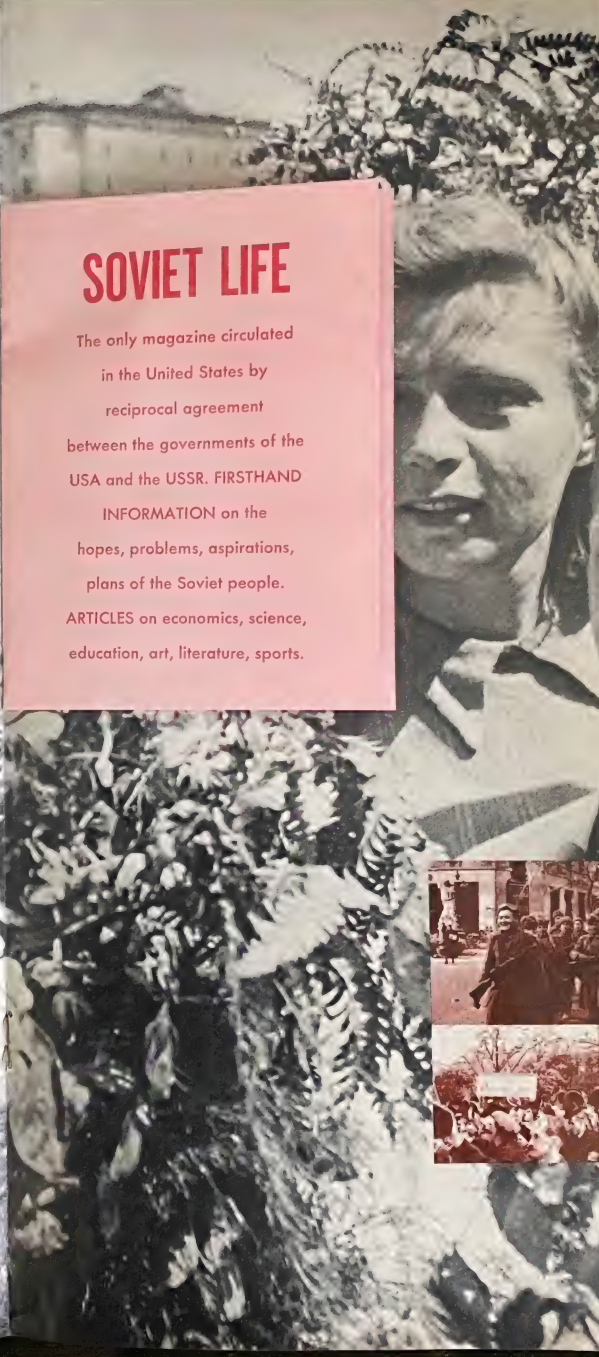
Franklin D.
Roosevelt
May 17, 1944

Continued on page 33



SOVIET LIFE

The only magazine circulated
in the United States by
reciprocal agreement
between the governments of the
USA and the USSR. FIRSTHAND
INFORMATION on the
hopes, problems, aspirations,
plans of the Soviet people.
ARTICLES on economics, science,
education, art, literature, sports.



WARTIME LETTERS

Continued from page 31

other, and the third then hastened to retreat.

When the battle was over, some friends of Lastovsky's came up to him.

"You're a hot one in battle," one of them remarked.

"I couldn't help getting hot," Lastovsky replied. "Stalingrad is at my back. We have no right to retreat."

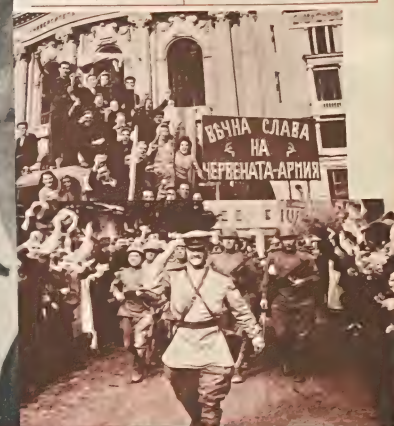
Lieutenant I. Malygin

We'll Rebuild Stalingrad

May 7, 1943

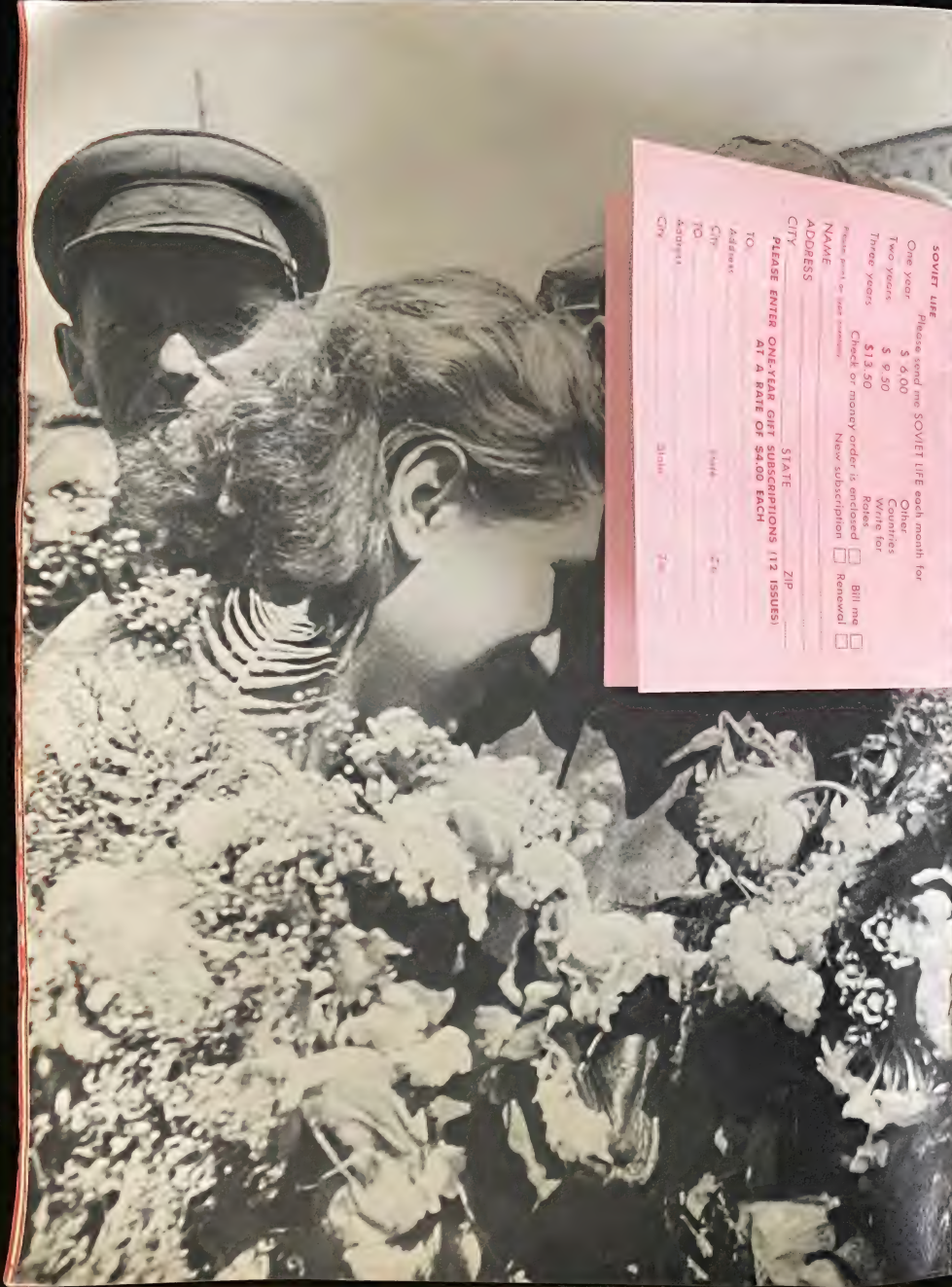
I ask to be sent to Stalingrad to rebuild the city. My brother defended it against the fascist invaders and was decorated twice. I consider it my duty to take an active part in the hero-city's re-

Continued on page 35



Liberating Europe.
From top to bottom:
September 15, 1944—The
people of Sofia greet
the Red Army.
October 20, 1944—The
Red Army in the streets
of Belgrade after the
liberation of the city
by Yugoslav and Soviet
troops.
February 1945—The Red
Army enters Budapest.
April 1945—The citizens
of Vienna welcome the
Soviet soldiers.
May 1945—Prague welcomes
the Soviet troops.





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WARTIME LETTERS

Continued from page 31

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Lieutenant I. Malygin

We'll Rebuild Stalingrad
May 7, 1943

I ask to be sent to Stalingrad to rebuild the city. My brother defended it against the fascist invaders and was decorated twice. I consider it my duty to take an active part in the hero-city's rescue.

Continued on page 35

Four long years of war. Four long years the women had been separated from their husbands and sons. Four long years they had waited for this meeting, believing and hoping against hope that their loved ones would return home safe and sound. When the people got the news that the war was over, many could not hold back their tears. Those were not only tears of joy, those were tears of sorrow for the loss of 20 million Soviet lives—the price of the victory.



Liberating Europe.
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September 15, 1944—The people of Sofia greet the Red Army.
October 20, 1944—The Red Army in the streets of Belgrade after the liberation of the city by Yugoslav and Soviet troops.
February 1945—The Red Army enters Budapest.
April 1945—The citizens of Vienna welcome the Soviet soldiers.
May 1945—Prague welcomes the Soviet troops.

The party was everywhere, reaching into the depths of the Byelorussian forests to organized guerrillas, into Siberian factories to step up the production, onto the collective farms, into the press, . . . the radio, the Army. . . . The Communists had the leadership, the program and above all, the means. When slogans were needed, they had them. . . . When a song was needed to improve morale, they had the songs—and stirring ones, too. When a plant urgently required a high-priority building material, the party channel was the quickest way around wartime red tape.

The party recruited, trained, propagandized. Every day it spoke to millions in "Pravda"; it spoke through the political advisers in the Army and Navy; it spoke through the underground, through trained members who remained behind when the Germans moved in; it cemented the fortress.

Richard E. Lauterbach
1945

ARMS THAT FORGED VICTORY

A Faster Pace

Testifying at the Nuremberg Trial, Albert Speer, the Third Reich's Minister of Armaments and War Production, said that from the standpoint of production, engineering and the economy, Germany had lost the war by the beginning of the summer of 1944.

Sensational T-34

"The enemy," wrote Hitlerite General H. Guderian, "had a new type of tank, T-34, which greatly surpassed German tanks in cross-country ability, armor thickness and gun armor piercing." Another Hitlerite military leader, General E. Schneider, reported that the T-34 tank had created a sensation. Its shells pierced the armor of German tanks at a distance of 1,500-2,000 meters, while German tanks could hit the Russian machines at a distance of no more than 500 meters.

Four Fighting Sixteen

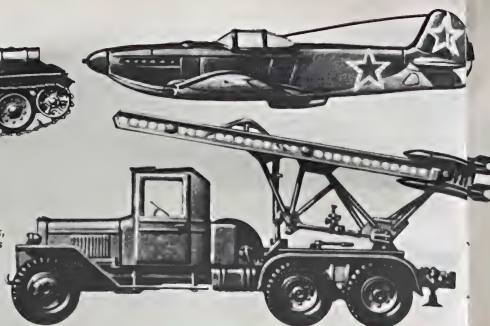
"At an altitude of 4,500 and even 5,000 meters we can do anything we want to the enemy," the French pilots of the Normandy-Niemen Regiment recounted. "The YAK-3 gives us complete superiority over the Germans. The craft has high maneuverability and speed. Two YAK-3s can fight four enemy machines, and four can beat sixteen. . . ."

The PE-2 modified dive bomber, which the Soviet Air Force received in 1943, also greatly surpassed the German Junker-88 and Heinkel-111 bombers.

The YAK-3 fighter. Armament: two 12.7-mm. machine guns and one 23-mm. cannon; maximum speed: 650 kilometers per hour; ceiling: 10,700 meters; maximum flying range: 800 kilometers.

The IL-2 attack aircraft ("Flying tank"). Armament: two 23-mm. cannons, one 12.7-mm. machine gun, eight rocket shells, 400 kilograms of bombs; maxi-

The T-34 medium tank. Above right: The YAK-3 fighter. Right: The BM-13 combat rocket truck, commonly known as the "Katyusha."



mum speed: 450 kilometers per hour; ceiling: 4,000 meters.

The T-34 medium tank. Weight: about 28 tons; speed: 55 kilometers per hour; armament: a 76-mm. and then an 85-mm. cannon and two machine guns; endurance: up to 300 kilometers; armor thickness: 45-52 mm.

The IS-2 heavy tank. Weight: 46 tons; speed: 37 kilometers per hour; armament: a 122-mm. cannon, four machine guns; armor thickness: 90-120 mm.

The BM-13 combat rocket truck ("Katyusha"). It had 16 launch rails, carrying 132-mm. rocket shells, with a firing range of 7.9 kilometers.

Music among the smoking ruins. Life is life, even in war. Right: During the years of the second World War women took the place of men who had gone to the front. Below: Those on the home front did their best to supply the Army with arms and ammunition. They worked day and night.



"The Motherland" calling on her sons to stand up against the enemy—a sculpture by Yevgeni Vuchetich at the memorial complex on Mamayev Hill in Volgograd. Some of the fiercest battles of the war were fought on this hill, the highest point in the city.



WARTIME LETTERS

Continued from page 33
construction. I am a lathe operator. Please don't turn my request down.

V. Golovin
YCL member (Kirov)

At Long Last

March 1, 1945
Germany. Columns of liberated war prisoners and foreign workers—Frenchmen, Belgians, Italians—were moving in an endless stream along roads toward the rear. We could tell who they were by the national ribbons in their berets. People exchanged greetings, exclamations, handshakes.

A tank of ours was heading past a crowd of Russian and Ukrainian girls. Sitting on the armor, the tank commander was shouting gaily to them. Suddenly he went pale and jumped to the ground on the go.

"Oyal!" he cried out, throwing his arms around a pale little girl. "Sister darling!"

The girl sank to his chest and burst out crying.

Major V. Smirnov
(Army in the Field)

MAJOR BATTLES

THE BATTLE OF MOSCOW

(December 1941)

Combat Forces in the Decisive Phase of the Battle

	Soviet	German
personnel	760,000	800,000
artillery	5,600	10,400
tanks	670	1,000
aircraft	660	600

Summary—Thirty-seven Hitlerite divisions were completely destroyed (300,000 Nazi officers and men were killed and wounded).

This was the first major defeat the Wehrmacht suffered in World War II, and it shattered the myth of its invincibility.

STALINGRAD

(November 1942–February 1943)

Combat Forces at the Moment of the Soviet Army's Counteroffensive

	Soviet	German
personnel	more than 1,000,000	1,000,000
artillery	13,500	10,300
tanks	900	675
aircraft	1,414	1,216

Summary—From November 1942 to February 1943 the Wehrmacht's losses near Stalingrad totaled 800,000 officers and men, 2,000 tanks, 10,000 guns and 3,000 aircraft. One hundred thousand Nazi officers and men were taken prisoner.

KURSK BULGE

(July-August 1943)

Operation Citadel was to avenge Hitler's defeat at Stalingrad and restore the German Command's strategic initiative on the Eastern Front.

The Battle of the Kursk Bulge, one of the biggest in the war, involved on both sides more than four million officers and men, about 70,000 guns and mortars, some 13,000 tanks and self-propelled

. . . No nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Soviet Union suffered in the course of the Second World War. At least 20 million lost their lives.

Countless millions of homes and farms were burned or sacked. A third of the nation's territory, including nearly two-thirds of its industrial base, was turned into a wasteland—a loss equivalent to the devastation of this country east of Chicago.

President John F. Kennedy
June 10, 1963

guns (including the heretofore secret German Tiger tanks and Ferdinand self-propelled guns) and 12,000 aircraft. The Wehrmacht threw over 100 divisions into this battle. Five divisions and five air groups were brought over from France.

The biggest tank battle of World War II was fought near the village of Prokhorovka. Twelve hundred tanks took part on both sides and 586 Hitlerite tanks were destroyed in a single day!

Summary—In the course of the defensive fighting and then during the Soviet Army's counteroffensive, the Hitlerites lost more than 500,000 officers and men, 1,500 tanks, 3,000 guns and 3,700 aircraft.

THE MINSK "POCKET"

(July-August 1944)

Two and a half weeks after the Allied troops landed in Normandy, the Soviet Army delivered a crushing blow at the Wehrmacht in Byelorussia. This battle, fought along a front 620 miles long and 370 miles deep, involved on both sides four million men and officers, 62,000 guns, 8,000 tanks and 9,000 aircraft.

Summary—Sixty-seven enemy divisions were destroyed completely. Some 100,000 Nazi officers and men were encircled in the Minsk "pocket" and taken prisoner.

To bolster up the collapsing Eastern Front, the Wehrmacht urgently had to move 48 divisions from the Western Front.

BERLIN—THE LAST BATTLE IN EUROPE

(April-May 1945)

Total combat forces on both sides: 3.5 million officers and men, 52,000 guns, 7,500 tanks and 10,800 aircraft.

Summary—The unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany. Fighting on the Soviet-German Front went on for 1,418 days and nights (338 on the Western Front). Apart from the battles covered above, there were many numbers of others much larger in scale than those fought on other fronts of the anti-Hitler coalition. Thus 10 Hitlerite divisions were completely destroyed during the Soviet Army's winter offensive of 1943-44, which spread over an area of 870 miles. The Germans here lost 75 per cent of their personnel. During the summer-fall campaign of 1944 the Soviet Army on the Soviet-German Front completely destroyed or took prisoner 96 Hitlerite divisions and 24 brigades, putting 219 enemy divisions out of commission.

During the 1945 January operation in the Oder area the Soviet Army destroyed 35 Hitlerite divisions.

THE PRICE OF VICTORY

Reprisals

The following are far from complete figures on reprisals committed by the invaders against the people in Soviet cities and villages: The invaders killed 2.2 million peaceful inhabitants in Byelorussia, 1.1 million in Lvov and Odessa regions and in Kharkov (the Ukraine), 172,000 in Leningrad Region and 125,000 in Estonia.

Fascist Slavery

The occupation troops deported about five million Soviet citizens to Germany for slave labor.

Cities and Villages in Ruins

As the Hitlerites retreated, they left behind "desert zones": 1,710 Soviet cities, 70,000 villages and settlements, 40,000 hospitals, 82,000 schools, technicians and institutions of higher learning, and 32,000 industrial plants were destroyed during the war years.

SELF- REALIZATION THROUGH ACTION

We are the youth of the seventies. And there's probably no point in only looking back. . . . Past experience is a good and useful thing, but we should also have our own experience, so that life around us can be made more perfect.

From the diary of Yuri Tilor, a Young Communist League member who works at the Kama Truck Plant construction site.

Emminent Soviet sociologist Svetlana Ikonnikova defines the state of today's youth as "the great impatience." Embodied in this is the desire to take part in the common effort, to help others and to be an independent citizen with a definite place and purpose in life. This striving toward maturity, self-realization, and conscious

participation in the transformation of the world is one of the major characteristics of the present generation of young men and women. So striving, they are advancing toward their ideal. Numerous studies have shown that the ideal of the majority of them is service to society and active, creative work.



YOUTH ON YOUTH

What do Soviet youth think about their generation? To *Komsomolskaya Pravda's* questions: What traits of Soviet young people are the strongest? How are they most strikingly manifested?—the most frequent answers were: patriotism; internationalism; high moral standards (will power, courage, honesty, compassion, etc.); thirst for knowledge; collectivism; activity, enthusiasm; yearning for everything new; love for peace. To the question: Do you feel you have attained your goal?—the majority replied:

Yes! Novosti Press Agency posed these three questions in a questionnaire: What is your main goal in life?

How do you intend to attain that goal?

What do you mean by career?

Fifteen hundred young people from Moscow: the town of Podolsk, a suburb of Moscow; Kharkov and Zaporozhye in the Ukraine answered the questionnaire. Their average age is 23.5. Thirty-two per cent have a higher education, 37 per cent are factory and office workers, and 12 per cent are schoolchildren. The others did not give the information.

Below are sample replies to the first question:

"To know that I am useful and that my work is necessary." Boris Zakharov, 25, senior engineer, Moscow.

"To feel needed." Victor Senin, 22, turner, Podolsk.

"To be the kind of person that children would want to emulate." Nina Yushkina, 24, teacher, Zaporozhye.

"To develop transport in the North." Vladimir Mitrokhin, 23, student, Moscow.

"To be where things are hardest." Gennadi Chekalin, 17, student of a technical school, Podolsk.

Many described how they would like to go about achieving their goals. I'm studying. I will study. I'm entering an institute.

These words were found in 1,043 questionnaires.

"The less I know," writes Muscovite Tanya Makarova, a stenographer of the

Do We Feel Less?

A. Andreyev, student: "What, in my view, are the distinguishing features of some of my fellow students? I would say the instability and inconsistency of their feelings and actions. The early YCL members witnessed tremendous changes in our country. They saw them with their own eyes and from their own experience. Young people in those days were, perhaps, less educated and their cultural standards were lower. They did not have the opportunities we have today. But they had more character, and their feelings were stronger too. What holds us back, I think, is our inhibitions."

Rationalists

V. Davydov, engineer: "I do not believe that we are emotionally less developed than our fathers' generation. Yes, we are rationalists. But reason does not smother emotion. On the contrary, it makes our feelings deeper, more varied. We are only more restrained in showing our feelings. We dislike sentimentality."

Times are changing. How do Soviet youth keep abreast of the times? What do they think about themselves? Highlights from interviews, questionnaires and panel discussions offer some insights.

"Our major obsession is seeking the truth, acquiring firm convictions and acting accordingly."

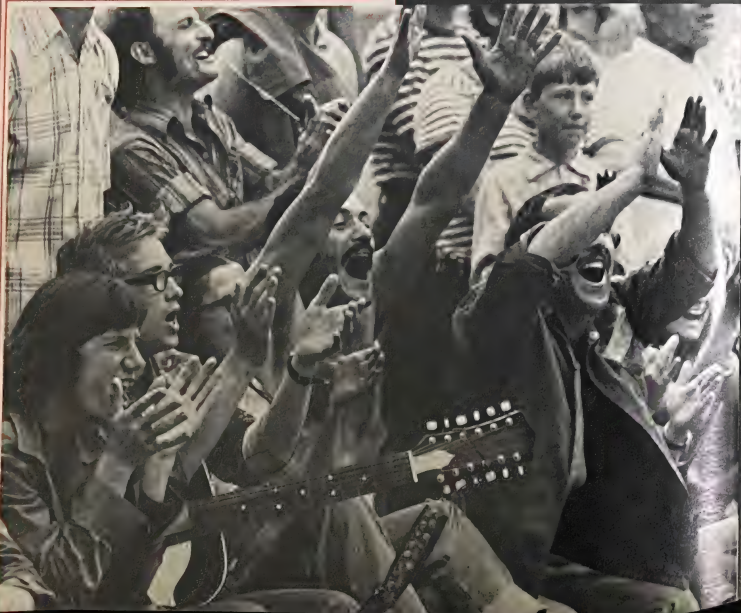
If I Work Only For Myself, What Purpose Would My Life Have?

"Your duty to society is simply to express yourself in it. If you waste all your time on purely personal interests, you are stealing it from yourself as a citizen." (Excerpt from a television panel discussion)

The Earth seems to have become smaller, distances have shrunk, enabling people from all over to get together more often. Here, the World Youth and Students Festival.



Two poets of different generations, Joe Wallace and Andrei Voznesensky, exchange ideas. Below: A meeting of Soviet and American youth in Minsk. Bottom: An international student get-together.



Bolshoi ballerina Nadezhda Pavlova, poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko (talking below with Robert Frost) and world chess champion Anatoli Karpov (left) are very different people indeed. But what unites them is the fact that they all belong to the postwar generation and all possess its common features: a love for the work they are doing, diligence and loyalty to ideals.

Whom Do You Look Up To?

Nikolai Gorshkov, student: "I have always admired people who have ideas and who are capable of realizing their ideas. My ideal is the late Academician Sergei Korolyov, the man who developed our space rockets."

Which Event in Our History Would You Have Liked to Participate in?

Valentin, barber's apprentice: "I would like to have lived at the beginning of the twentieth century, to have been able to take part in the Revolution and see Lenin."

Gennadi Golovanov, engineer: "I would have liked to have taken part in storming the Winter Palace and in the Victory Parade on Red Square."

What Are Your Plans For the Year?

Mukhabat Mukhildinova, eleventh grade student: 1. Favorite subject?

"Mathematics or, to be more exact, mathematical analysis. To make progress, I intend to solve more problems."

2. Your hobbies?

"I used to love dancing, but I haven't danced for two years now because I don't have the time for it."

Being young has many assets, one of which is a future that seems boundless. Ahead of the young lie any number of roads from which to choose; and there is always an awareness that it is never too late to begin everything all over again.



3. What are you going to do to broaden your knowledge?

"I have special plans with respect to philosophy. I have always thought of myself as a person with firm convictions. However, I have just discovered for myself that it is not easy to defend your convictions. As I see it, this is because we sometimes take things we believe to be right for granted, instead of delving deeper."

Language Students

"The two met during a competition in linguistics and mathematics. Immediately thereafter they had to part. Because they lived far apart and had no telephones, they decided to write to one another. Sasha wrote the first letter in Latin. An answer came in Italian with an analysis of Sasha's errors in Latin. His feelings badly hurt, Sasha wrote in Italian about the errors of his new friend's Italian—which was about as bad as his own Latin. The reply was in Esperanto. After that the correspondence ceased, because both had gotten telephones and they decided to carry on the exchange in Polish."

(Excerpt from a report on the third competition of seniors in linguistics and mathematics)

Ministry of Automobile Transport and Highways of the Russian Federation, who is taking a correspondence course in philosophy at Moscow University, "the less creative my work will be. That is why I am studying, and that is my road in life. The road to knowledge is complex, but gratifying. It alone can make one's most cherished dreams come true."

Almost everyone surveyed had a clearly defined way to achieve their goal. But approximately half of them treated the word career negatively.

"I don't like the word career" Valya Vinokurova, 16, student, Podolsk.

"In the word career I see promotion at work by means of pull or toadyism" Victor Bychkov, 21, worker, Zaporozhye.

"Career spells an egoistic attitude toward life." Oleg Vinogradov, 25, engineer, Zaporozhye. Others had a different understanding of the word.

"Career is good if it really means progress, a step forward from the point already reached." Vera Loban, 26, engineer, Kharkov.

"Career—if it is honest and well-earned—means the materialization of your dreams." Gherman Lavrov, 27, technician, Moscow.

Studying the replies, we recalled the time several years ago when a group of graduates from the Moscow Institute of Railroad Transport Engineers asked to be sent to work on the Abakhan-Taishet railroad in Siberia. Work conditions there were very difficult.

From the outset the young engineers were faced with great responsibility. "You want to be chiefs?" one of the members of the job placement board asked with a smile. "Of course," replied the young people. "We're careerists, you know."

Komsomolskaya Pravda approached its readers with this question: What must you do to achieve your aim? The replies:

"Make money" (63); "Improve my gifts in the chosen field of endeavor (3,597);

"Work hard" (4,841); "Study" (10,576).

THE SOVIET CHARACTER

When I asked myself what distinguished Soviet society from ours, I knew the answer at once. It was human warmth.

This quality is a peculiar sort of alloy made up of components which at first seem totally incompatible, namely, recognition of people as individuals, the joy of association with others like yourself, the acceptance and understanding of your neighbors' weaknesses, which were part of their makeup yesterday and which will be part of it tomorrow, and an instinctive desire to come to the assistance of anyone who may need it.

In the West these characteristics tend to strengthen the spirit of individualism. In Soviet society, in which some people live better than others, where there are those who have higher cultural standards and are better educated and still others have more possibilities for success in life, these very differences produce results quite the opposite of their effect in Western societies. They weld people together, making a more unified society. Why? Because the basic element of Soviet society is not the individual, it is the human being.

I believe that Western society has a number of commendatory characteristics. However, so many things—the habitual need for approaching everything seriously, the collapse of the vain ambitions of the individual, back-breaking labor (if you are eager to succeed in life), the arduous struggle for the right to a job, the indifference that results from rampant individualism, hypocrisy, and the necessary adjustment to the relentless rhythm of highly advanced technology—all of this has caused such human feelings as love, compassion and sympathy to be repressed. In the West they prize the individual's complete independence and the right to solitude. If some people are strong, that's quite all right. . . . But what if some are weak?

For a long time the crowds on Gorky Street got on my nerves. And I shared the indignation of letter writers who complained about the situation in the Soviet press. The crowds angered me until one day I accidentally hit against a fellow countryman at Orly Airport. For some reason known only to himself, this Frenchman must have enter-

by Jean Raffaelli
Chief, Moscow Bureau
France-Presse News Agency

tained a very high opinion of himself. You would have to see it to believe the scene he made. Brushing at the sleeve I had barely touched, he made a face as if he had put his foot into something unpleasant. That day I remembered the crowds in Gorky Street with great pleasure.

In a trolley bus in Moscow you might hear people express opinions—about a girl's skirt being too short or the color of another girl's stockings. In the West people keep such observations to themselves so that other people will not hear them. But one cold winter night in 1963 I realized what a good thing it was to give voice to your sentiments. The temperature in the streets was 30 degrees below zero Celsius, but I had no hat on. Suddenly I was surrounded by a group of middle-aged people who were angered by my "childish behavior." They stopped me and nearly forced me into a taxi. This outburst of touching comradely care by some grumblers I did not know warmed my heart.

These are only small things, perhaps, but they help give you an idea of the general atmosphere.

Throwing etiquette to the winds, you can ask a stranger in Moscow for a cigarette, for advice or simply for help. And you may be sure the person who helps will not disappoint you. I am sure that if you go up to people in the street and say, "Please help me," they will never turn their back on you. It doesn't matter whether you are well dressed or poorly dressed, or whether or not they like your face.

It is precisely this kindness of the Russians that impresses you most. It is the most valuable characteristic of Soviet society. Here the boys call you "uncle." And when you address people by their first name, you must also know the name of their father.

Not long ago an Englishman (briefly in Moscow) and I went to an exhibition together. Both of us were struck with how the Soviet people shower their love on children. I asked him what best characterized the people. He said:

"They've got something we haven't got. I would call it the 'all-consuming capacity for love.'"

Abridged from *Zhurnalist*,
No. 11, 1967



The youth in the USSR, we found, are playing a tremendous role in building the country. The physicians, the engineers, the collective farmers in the Soviet delegation we met were outstanding. . . . We also saw on the streets photographs of people who were the best in the shops or on the farms, and many were youth. So they have been solving problems that we are still trying to solve.

Linda Berlin

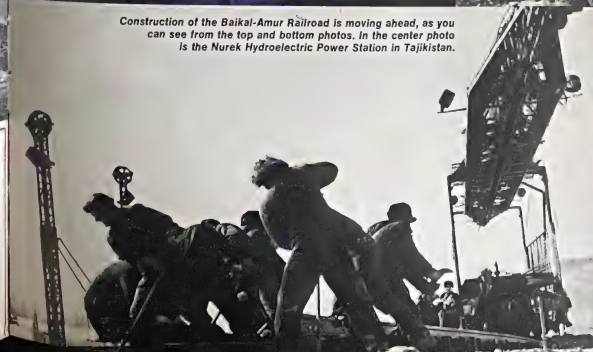
While their fathers drive trucks loaded with materials for the construction of the giant Nurek Hydroelectric Power Station on the Vakhsh River (photo at right shows assembly work being done at the site), these boys follow their example with toy trucks in a backyard at home.



In the early sixties a rich deposit of oil was struck at the bottom of the large and shallow Lake Samotlor in Siberia. Today Samotlor is the symbol of Siberia's oil industry.



Construction of the Baikal-Amur Railroad is moving ahead, as you can see from the top and bottom photos. In the center photo is the Nurek Hydroelectric Power Station in Tajikistan.



The development of Siberia is in full swing. The old towns like Irkutsk (above is a plane being unloaded at the local airport) are still growing, while new towns like Tynda (above) are springing up. Tynda grew up around the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railroad.

HOW THE SPACE AGE BEGAN

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched the world's first artificial Earth satellite, starting the exploration of space.



Space begins on Earth. Perhaps someday these boys at left—members of the Young Cosmonauts Club—will become cosmonauts or designers of spacecraft. Above: A picture of the Earth taken before it dips behind the Moon's edge by the Zond 7 automatic station in 1969. The distance to the Moon was 2,000 kilometers. The photo shows the distinct outlines of Central Asia, the Arabian Peninsula and Australia. At left: This photograph of Lake Baikal in southern Siberia was transmitted from the Soyuz-22 spacecraft in September 1976.

Yuri Gagarin's First Interview

By N. Denisov

Two days after Yuri Gagarin returned from his unprecedented flight around the Earth, he was interviewed by Pravda and Izvestia correspondents.

He sat in front of us, full of vitality, his eyes twinkling. "Did you think that the first man to blaze a trail into outer space would be you?"

"Of course not. That was just a dream."

We asked him what the Earth looked like from a distance of hundreds of kilometers.

"The large rivers, big reservoirs, forests, big folds of terrain and coastlines are clearly seen on the day side of the Earth. Illuminated by the Sun. During the flight over the Soviet Union the squares of the collective farm fields are well etched."

"How did the surface of the water look?"

"Dark, with slightly sparkling spots."

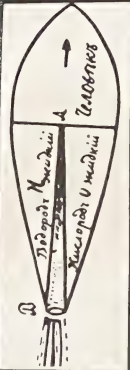
"Was the circumference of the Earth well defined?"

"Oh, yes. When I looked at the horizon, I saw the sharp contrasting transition from the light-colored surface of the Earth to the altogether black sky. Our planet seemed to be surrounded by a light blue aureole. Then the strip gradually grew dark, turned violet and then black. The transition is very beautiful and difficult to convey in words."

Pravda, April 14, 1961
Abridged



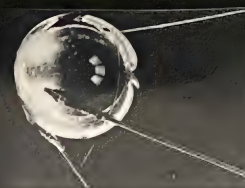
Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, the father of modern space rocketry. Below: His conception of a manned craft. Right: The first artificial Earth satellite.



The news of the launching of the sputnik has produced a staggering impression both on people far removed from science and on scientists themselves. Yet it was not surprising at all that the Soviet Union was the first to launch an artificial earth satellite.

The ways of scientific and technological advance in socialist countries are different from those of other countries. Take one example. Several years ago representatives of Western aircraft companies argued that it would take the Soviet Union many years to equip its airlines with high-speed and comfortable four-engine aircraft similar to those these companies were using. But the Soviet Union, instead of following a well-trodden path, designed and put into service a TU-104 jet airliner, thus outstripping Western civil aviation with one stroke.

—Fedorov, Joliet-Curie, 1957



Milestones Of Space Research

1957
Soviet Union puts world's first artificial Earth satellite into orbit. International Astronautical Federation declares this the beginning of space age.

1959
Luna 3 photographs far side of Moon.

1960
First spaceship-satellite launched. Beginning of flight tests in preparation for putting manned spaceship in orbit. Second spaceship-satellite carries dogs Strelka and Belka. Ejector capsule returns them to Earth.

1961
Yuri Gagarin makes world's first manned flight in Vostok 1.

1962
Vostok 3, carrying Andrian Nikolayev, and Vostok 4, carrying Pavel Popovich, make world's first group flight.

First automatic station launched toward Mars.

1963
Valentina Tereshkova, world's first woman cosmonaut, and Valeri Bykovsky make joint space flight.

1964
Single carrier rocket places Electron 1 and 2 in different orbits, making possible simultaneous investigation of outer and inner radiation belts.

New multiseat spaceship, Voskhod, put into orbit with Vladimir Komarov, Konstantin Feoktistov and Boris Yegorov aboard.

1965
Alexei Leonov makes first outer space walk during flight on Voskhod 2 with Pavel Belyayev.

Molniya 1 initiates satellite communications system serving territory of Soviet Union. Includes several dozen orbital ground stations for relaying television broadcasts to remote parts of country.

1966
Luna 9 automatic station soft-lands on Moon and transmits television pictures from its surface.

1967
Soyuz 1, manned by Vladimir Komarov, put into orbit.



Yuri Gagarin and Sergei Korolev. Space rocket systems developed under Korolev made it possible to launch the Vostok and Voskhod series artificial satellites of the Earth and Sun, automatic probes of the Moon, Venus and Mars, and to make a soft landing on the Moon. Left: The first man to walk in outer space was Alexei Leonov, in March 1965 from the Voskhod 2.



КО ВСЕМ, кто интересуется проблемой межпланетных сообщений — просьба сообщить об этом письменно по адресу: МОСКВА, 28, Варшавское шоссе 2-й Зеленогорский пер. д. 8, кв. 1. Н. К. ФЕДОРЕНКО. 53683

This announcement "for all who are interested in the problem of interplanetary travel" was published in the newspaper Vechernyaya Moskva in 1930. Left: Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova—so far the only woman cosmonaut in the world—made her flight around the Earth aboard the Vostok 6 in June 1963.

USSR-USA SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

The first Soviet-American agreement on cooperation in the fields of science and technology was signed more than five years ago, at the USSR-USA summit meeting in Moscow in May 1972. This was followed by inter-governmental agreements covering major fields of scientific and technical development. At the summit meetings in 1972-1974 the USSR and the USA concluded 10 specialized agreements. These include agreements on environmental protection, the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, medical science and public health, agriculture, studies of the world ocean, transportation, peaceful uses of atomic energy, power engineering, housing and other construction, and artificial heart research and development. These agreements are being carried out by nine Soviet-American joint commissions which have formed nearly 100 working groups to collaborate on about 150 problems.

The photograph on page 45, right, shows Dr. Robert Miner and Soviet chemist Dina Churlina. In the spring of 1975 the American scientist spent more than two months in the Soviet Union as a guest of the Institute of Organic Catalysis and Electrochemistry of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences. Chemical catalysis was the first field in which cooperation reached the stage of working on collaborative programs. Between 1973 and 1976, 16 Soviet specialists spent six months in the United States, and 23 Americans stayed in the Soviet Union for three to six months. They tested catalysts elaborated by the scientists of the two countries and published the results of their investigations in 20 articles that appeared in Soviet and American journals. It is expected that joint studies will make it possible to develop more effective catalysts and catalytic systems and also to improve the methods of purifying the air from nitric oxide. Earthquake forecasting is an important project in Soviet-American cooperation. Strong quakes can be forecast on the basis of the statistical processing of numerous data on small displacements of the Earth's crust. American specialists have developed highly-sensitive gauges to register

Milestones Of Space Research

1969
Docking Soviet spacecrafts form world's first experimental orbital station, with Vladimir Shatalov, Boris Volynov, Alexei Yeliseyev and Yevgeni Khronov aboard. Yeliseyev and Khronov change ships in outer space.

1971
First orbital station, Salyut, begins new stage in spacecraft use. Vladimir Shatalov, Alexei Yeliseyev and Nikolai Rukavishnikov dock Soyuz 10 with station. Georgi Dobrovolsky, Vladislav Volkov and Victor Pat-sayev work on board for 23 days.

1974
Salyut 3 and 4 put into orbit. Manned automatically and by consecutive crews—first: Boris Volynov and Vitali Zholobov; second (since early 1977): Victor Gorbato and Yuri Glazkov.

1976
Salyut 5 put into orbit. Manned automatically and by consecutive crews—first: Boris Volynov and Vitali Zholobov; second (since early 1977): Victor Gorbato and Yuri Glazkov. Valeri Bykovsky and Vladimir Akayonov, in Soyuz 22, photograph part of the territories of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic with a multispectral camera manufactured by the Carl Zeiss Jena plant.

Cosmos satellites explore terrestrial space. More than 900 launched to date. Satellites for meteorology, communications and other purposes being perfected. Third generation of Molniya satellites and stationary satellites of the Raduga and Ekran series in operation. TV programs transmitted via communications satellites viewed by 30 million Soviet people. Luna, Venera and Mars automatic interplanetary stations exploring outer space and planets. Venera 9 and 10 take remarkable photographs of Venus. Luna 24, an automatic surveyor, brings back a two-meter-long core of lunar rock.

It is like something right out of *Alice in Wonderland*, said an American physicist after seeing (in 1966—Ed.) plans for the machine projected by Gersh I. Budker at the new Akademik Town, or Akademgorodok, near Novosibirsk. It would generate a cloud of antimatter over a day's time, accelerate it almost to the speed of light. Then smash it head on into a comparable cloud of matter traveling in the opposite direction at the same speed. The resulting particle collisions would be at energies far above those achieved in any laboratory in existence or under construction.

In the United States, the American said, I don't know where you would get the money for such a wild scheme.

Walter Sullivan
Science Editor, N.Y. Times
1967

FIRST ATOMIC REACTOR

In 1939 the outstanding physicist Igor Kurchatov began his theoretical and experimental work on splitting uranium nuclei under the action of neutrons. By November 1943 the highly sensitive pulsed boron trifluoride installation had been put into operation. The installation made it possible to carry out highly important measurements. Later on the test experimental plant was built, where problems relating to the propagation of thermal neutrons in graphite and water were hammered out. Control and shielding systems as well as control and measuring systems were designed.

The assembly of the reactor unit was completed in December 1946. During the development of the first reactor Igor Kurchatov surrounded himself with brilliant theoretical and experimental physicists.

Bottom right:
The joint mission of the Soyuz and Apollo spacecrafts in July 1975 will be remembered as one of the greatest achievements of our century.
Space exploration, by its very nature, is international. It helps us see ourselves and our neighbors from a different perspective and reminds us of the importance of solving our problems jointly.



Right: Soviet physicist Sergei Vavilov (1891-1957). He was at one time President of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Aircraft designer Andrei Tupolev (1888-1971). He created the world-famous series of TU planes. This photo dates back to 1936. Tupolev's son also became an aircraft designer.
Below left: The Tokamak-10 installation.



Above: Igor Kurchatov (1902-1960), a prominent Soviet nuclear physicist, played an important role in the development of nuclear physics and engineering.
Left: Plant breeder Ivan Michurin (1855-1935) opened a new page in horticulture. He developed more than 300 varieties and 125,000 hybrids of fruit trees.
Center: Experiments continue on the Soviet U-25 magnetohydrodynamic generator. In the photo: A superconducting magnet from the United States.
Bottom left: American scientists, in Tajikistan for the USA-USSR Complex Seismological Expedition, learn some local songs.
Bottom right: Dr. Robert Miner.



Professor Valeri Shumakov (in the center at left) is director of the Institute of the Transplantation of Organs and Tissues in Moscow. The institute maintains close ties with American specialists doing transplant work.



ICEBREAKER RESEARCH SHIP

The Otto Schmidt, named in honor of the famous Soviet explorer, will not be as powerful as the well-known Soviet atomic icebreakers Lenin and Arktika. Its purpose is different: to carry out comprehensive studies of the Arctic Ocean the year round. This type of icebreaker is being built for the first time. So far the "floating institute" exists only in a mockup. Tests have shown that the future vessel will move easily through the ice floes with a thickness of up to 60 centimeters* at a speed of about two knots.

The Otto Schmidt will reach the farthest corners of the Arctic Ocean, where conventional oceanographic craft run the risk of being crushed. Its diesel engine power plant will have a 5,400-horsepower capacity, displacement is to be 3,650 tons and range 11,000 miles. It will be able to make a voyage from Leningrad to the Antarctic without refueling.

The Admiralty Shipyard in Leningrad is now in the process of making molds for the construction of the icebreaker's hull.

* One centimeter equals .3937 inches

SIBERIAN SCIENCE CITY

The Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences—the only branch of its kind—has been in existence for 20 years now. How did the science city come into being?

Academicians Mikhail Lavrentiev, Sergei Sobolev and Sergei Khristianovich proposed organizing a Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In May 1957 the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the establishment of such a department, and the construction of the science city began amid the birch groves, not far from Novosibirsk.

Today the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences incorporates 43 research institutes and three special design bureaus, which are staffed by 35,000 researchers, including 64 full and corresponding members of the Academy, and more than 300 doctors and 3,000 candidates of sciences.

USSR-USA COOPERATION

such displacements. Soviet experts have formulated effective methods for the computerized processing of data and the collection of information necessary for forecast preparation. These methods were used to forecast three earthquakes in the United States in 1974. Instruments that register movements of the earth's crust are being tested on the Garm-Dushanbe proving grounds, Tajikistan, where there is constant high seismic activity. Soviet and American experts are jointly studying seismic phenomena connected with the filling of the water reservoir of the Nurek Hydroelectric Power Station. Soviet and American oncologists are conducting joint studies connected with the chemotherapy of tumors. They have exchanged 150 preparations and tested them. American scientists note the effectiveness of Soviet preparations for treating cancer of the mammary gland, and Soviet doctors highly appraise an American preparation used for tumors of the lymphatic system. Soviet and American specialists have prepared a book.

Elaboration of Preparations for the Treatment of Cancer, for publication. At the oncological conference which took place in Leningrad in April 1976, Soviet and American doctors signed a protocol on the joint development of new preparations and methods for use in oncological chemotherapy. The 10-year agreement on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, signed on June 21, 1973, provides for collaboration in the following fields: controlled thermonuclear synthesis, fast neutron breeder reactors, studies of the fundamental properties of matter. The Soviet Union was the first to develop the Tokamak experimental thermonuclear unit (far left photograph on page 44 shows the Tokamak-10 model). About 65 per cent of America's allocations for thermonuclear synthesis is channeled into the development of a Tokamak-type unit. By the beginning of 1976 Soviet and American physicists had conducted about a dozen joint experiments with the aid of the world's most powerful accelerator at the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory in Batavia, Illinois. The gas jet target at the Joint Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna, the USSR, was used for the purpose.

Why do we build giant hydroelectric power stations? Because they use recoverable resources and produce relatively cheap electric power.

Hydropower costs 83.3 per cent less to generate than thermal power. Construction of hydroelectric stations is concentrated now in the eastern part of the country, where they stimulate the economy and form the basis of large territorial production complexes. During the 1971-1975 period about 20 hydroelectric stations were put into operation, among them the world's largest station, Krasnoyarsk (6 million kilowatts).

The Yenisei River and its tributary, the Angara, are the main regions of hydroelectric power construction in Siberia.

The energy potential of the Yenisei and the Angara together is 300 billion kilowatt-hours. This means that stations with the over-all capacity of about 50 million kilowatts can be built here. During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period (1976-1980) construction of the Ust-Ilim (4.5 million kilowatts), Boguchany (4 million kilowatts) and Sayano-Shushenskaya (6.4 million kilowatts) stations will be completed.

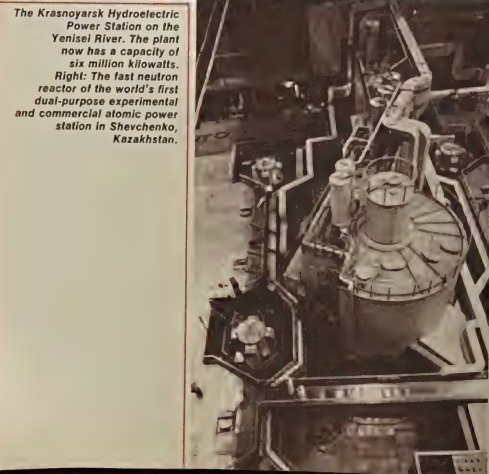
New cities are often built around large stations where low-cost energy is available. Job opportunities for the local population are endless. For instance, the Bratsk station supplies power to run an ore-dressing plant, an aluminum factory and a timber complex, while the Ust-Ilim station resulted in the establishment of an industrial center based on two ore-dressing plants and a pulp-and-paper factory. The Nurek Hydroelectric Station in Central Asia made possible the building of the Tajik Aluminum Factory and an electrochemical plant.

The eastern part of the Soviet Union possesses vast water resources. The country's Unified Power Grid (now entering the final stage of completion) will allow channeling part of the electricity to the western areas.

At present the Unified Power Grid supplies the entire European part of the country, Transcaucasia, the Urals and North Kazakhstan. The capacity of the 900 stations in the system is rated at 160 million kilowatts.

In the near future the grids of Central Asia, Siberia and the Far East will be connected with the Unified Power Grid. This will make it possible to handle efficiently the flows of electricity generated by atomic, thermal and hydraulic stations and to vary the operation scheme of the country's major energy centers. The Soviet Union plans to generate 1.4 trillion kilowatt-hours of electricity in 1980.

The Krasnoyarsk Hydroelectric Power Station on the Yenisei River. The plant now has a capacity of six million kilowatts. Right: The fast neutron reactor of the world's first dual-purpose experimental and commercial atomic power station in Shevchenko, Kazakhstan.



Above: Construction of the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Station on the upper reaches of the Yenisei River. The plant's capacity will top 6.4 million kilowatts.



Above: Andrei Bochkin, chief of construction at the Krasnoyarsk Hydroelectric Power Station and head of many other power projects in Siberia, is known all over the country.

Below: Testing the elements of future power transmission lines at the Siberian Power Engineering Institute in Novosibirsk.



USSR-USA: RATE OF GROWTH

By Professor Boris Alexandrov
Doctor of Science (Economics)

THE SOVIET UNION produces 20 per cent of the world's industrial output today, but only 60 years ago Russia accounted for less than 3 per cent of everything produced on our planet. In 1913 Russia's industrial output was 12.5 per cent of the USA's; in 1975 the USSR's was more than 80 per cent of the USA's.

In the last 25 years the average annual rate of growth of national income was 8.1 per cent for the USSR and 3.2 per cent for the USA, while industrial output advanced at a rate of 9.6 per cent and 3.8 per cent respectively.

Whenever we compare growth rates, someone is sure to point out that at a lower level, it is easier to build up the percentage. To a certain degree this is true. That is why I propose to take absolute ratios. Here it is difficult to raise objections. In the past 60 years U.S. industry has been developing at a much higher rate than ever before. Despite this, the USSR has been steadily catching up with it. And in a number of vital products, the USSR has long been leading the world.

What are the prospects? The "absolute size" of each per cent in the USSR is increasing with every year that passes. Naturally, you cannot expect it to show the rate of growth characteristic of the thirties and forties. But that isn't the point. What we are trying to figure out is whether the Soviet Union will continue to develop at a higher rate than the USA in the foreseeable future, as it has done so far.

The basic data show that both the Soviet Union and the United States have a sufficient supply of raw materials and enough skilled labor and powerful production facilities. Why do I think (and not only I) that the Soviet Union will continue to make more rapid progress?

Until recently it was impossible for the Soviet economy to support the comprehensive and simultaneous development of all sectors, and this incurred serious losses. For example, sowing and harvesting operations were nearly 100 per cent mechanized, but drying, cleaning, storing and transporting grain called for considerable labor input. Lack

of storage space and elevators as well as cold-storage and specialized transport facilities often caused greater losses of products than in the USA. Repairs, construction, office work and everyday services have consumed and continue to consume larger quantities of social labor than in the United States. While making more rapid progress directly at the point of production, we lose in the sphere of infrastructure and "rear service bodies."

Now that we have for the most part appeased our hunger for the main industries, we have been focusing our attention more and more on patching up the holes through which the resources of our society are leaking. For example, if we allocate one million rubles for the elimination of disproportions between separate adjacent areas of production, the return is far greater than the expenditure because we make the whole system work.

Another factor in our favor is public ownership of the means of production and economic development along planned lines. The combination makes it possible to concentrate colossal resources in decisive sectors for short periods of time.

Still another factor is more efficient use of the advantages offered by the economic laws of socialism and improvement of the economic management mechanism. It should not be overlooked that we are pioneers blazing untrodden trails. No one before us has developed a socialist economy. We have been gradually finding the possibilities inherent in planning, prices, incentives and responsibility. We have discovered many things and incorporated them into our work, but life is constantly confronting us with new problems that call for new solutions. And these solutions have been producing an ever greater effect.

To this we can add the total absence of class antagonisms—the contradictions between the worker and the entrepreneur—and the absence of unemployment and inflation. Our socialist economy has been developing steadily and without any crises. This, of course, makes us feel very optimistic about the future.

SOVIET PEOPLE— A NEW HISTORICAL COMMUNITY

OUR WAY OF LIFE

Earlier this year Komsomolskaya Pravda asked people of different ages and professions the following two questions:

1. What is the "Soviet way of life"?
 2. What character traits, goals and intellectual standards have become natural and traditional for the Soviet people?
- Here are some of the answers:
- Ernst Henry, a distinguished journalist:
1. "The Soviet people do not stand still but strive to become citizens in a communist society. The worthiest of the Soviet people have been and continue to be those who do not accept a life without struggle and dedication."
 2. "People in a communist society, free from social fetters and enjoying individual freedom, will be not only stronger and cleverer than their ancestors but better and kinder as well. This is very important. The older I grow, the clearer I see the power of morality. People in a communist society will not be soulless, monumental and merciless 'supermen' as conceived by Nietzsche. They will be great scientists and great travelers."

Zoya Pukhova, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and manager of the March 8 Textile Factory in Ivanovo, Central Russia:

1. "I shall refer to just one feature of the Soviet way

Features Of a Cultural Revolution

Rising educational standards are one of the decisive preconditions for a successful cultural revolution. The following statistics for the Soviet Central Asian republics further illustrate this point.

Let's begin with Uzbekistan. (The census figures below are for the present borders of the republics.) In 1897, 3.6 per cent of the population between the ages of 9 and 49 were literate; in 1926, 11.6 per cent. By 1939 the number had dramatically jumped to 78.7 per cent, and in 1959 and 1970 the figures were 98.1 and 99.7 per cent, respectively. Tajikistan in 1897 claimed only 2.3 per cent of its population as literate. The 1926 census showed that 3.8 per cent of the population could read and write. Again there was a dramatic rise between 1926 and 1939, when 82.8 per cent were recorded as literates. In 1959 the figure was 96.2 per cent and in 1970, 99.6 per cent. Kirghizia went from 3.1 per cent literate in 1897 to 89.7 per cent in 1970.

For the 1972-1973 academic year, the USSR had 186 students per 10,000 inhabitants. The proportion of students per 10,000 people in the Kirghiz Republic (156), the Uzbek Republic (179) and the Tajik Republic (145) outranked Great Britain, France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany.

At present, the Uzbek Republic alone employs more people with higher or specialized secondary education than the entire Soviet national economy did in the late twenties.



Young or old, student or worker, the Soviet people are confident of their individual future and the future of our country. Social optimism is one of the main characteristics of our way of life.

of life—women's equality as practically exercised. There are 475 women among the deputies to the Supreme Soviet—31 per cent of its total membership. In Ivanovo women hold over half the seats on the City Soviet."

Tolomush Okeyev,

Kirghiz film director:

1. "The Soviet socialist way of life was not born in a test tube. It is a centuries-old dream of the masses that has come true."
2. "Collectivism: It is as natural for us as air, bread or water."

Internationalism: Color and race makes no difference to us; what matters is a person's practical and human qualities. For example, we have from 70 to 80 people engaged in our filming team. They are Kirghiz, Russians, Kazakhs, Germans, Tatars, in fact, I have not yet sorted out who is who."

Yulia Khomutova,

a village librarian, Urals:

1. "I shall mention only what I hold dearest—the right to an education guaranteed for everybody without exception. Before the Revolution there were only two persons who could read and write in our village of Kuyarovo, the pastor and the creamery owner. Now we have 20 teachers and 26 specialists having a high school or college education."
2. "The striving for mutual assistance and unselfish aid."

Nurmurad Tachmuradov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen Republic:

1. "During one of my foreign tours I was asked whether it is true that before the Revolution only one person in a thousand could read and write in Turkmenia."

Equality Is a Fact

Tajikistan provides a good example of how the cultural revolution, the high rate of economic growth and the socialist restructuring of the mode of life have combined to help the Central Asian re-

Fields of cotton grown under the hot Turkmen sun look like immense expanses covered with dazzling snow. The modern farm equipment used for harvesting the cotton is a sign of the farmer's progress since the Revolution.



It is true, I replied. I was a 15-year-old boy when my mother and I were given a plot of land following a land and water reform (my father, a poor peasant died at a very early age). I remember my mother crying with happiness when we reaped our first harvest. Later, I was admitted to one of the first Turkmen boarding schools where I learned to read."

2. "On the basis of my wartime experience, I maintain that the readiness for self-sacrifice is a national trait of the Soviet people. The human being has been and continues to be the major value in our society."

Alexander Bleskov, collective farm chairman in Stavropol area, southern Russia:

1. "What I see as the clearest manifestation of our Soviet way of life is that the once downtrodden peasants now have an identity. This is, perhaps, a more important gain in the Soviet people's life than many of their material benefits."

2. "A conscientious participation in social labor, social activity and spiritual pursuits. These are, incidentally, fostered by the new mode of living in the countryside as well. The present-day village offers people that which before could be gotten only in a city, such as enjoyment of the arts. Once we distributed 575 questionnaires: 'Would you like to live in a city?' Only 49 said, 'Yes.'"

publics resolve the women's question, which probably was the most acute problem there.

A Novosti correspondent asked Ibadat Rakhimova, chairperson of the Women's Council of the Tajik Republic, about the jobs that were now open to the Tajik women. Her answer:

"The high educational standards of the Tajik women, who account for 45 per cent of the graduates of higher and secondary educational institutions in the republic, assure them employment as well as opportunities for promotion in skilled occupations. Over 42 per cent of industrial managers and half the civil servants and economic executives are women. In some sectors, such as education or the health services, they are an absolute majority."

A sign of the times: Modern aircraft has completely changed the concept of distance. But some things never change—Above: "Our teacher is getting married!" Far right: The pleasure of hearing a fine artist perform—composer Aram Khachaturian.



The rapidly diminishing gap between the city and the countryside has become a reality. Modern villages with well-appointed stone houses and a large network of community services have sprung up in different parts of our country. The main buildings of the collective farm provide a center of urban life among the endless fields. Right: Alexander Gitalov, twice decorated Hero of Socialist Labor and leader of a team of tractor operators, has been active in helping to transform the Ukrainian countryside and change the villagers' way of life.



STATE EMBLEMS OF THE USSR AND UNION REPUBLICS



Tashkent's Friendship of the Peoples architectural complex is built in the epicenter of the 1956 earthquake. All the republics helped to restore the capital of the Uzbek SSR.



Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic



Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic



Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic



Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic



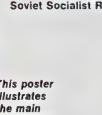
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic



Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic



Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic



Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic



Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic



Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic



Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic



Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic



Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic



Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic



Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic



Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic

A Family Tradition

The Karyayev brothers live in Ashkhabad, capital of the Turkmen Republic. Baimukhammed is a full member of the republic's Academy of Sciences, a linguist, folklorist and one of the creators of the Turkmen alphabet. Nuri designs lasers. Aka is a mathematician and Said, editor of the six-volume "History of Turkmen Literature," is a historian.

All four brothers, sons of a peasant, attended high school and then college, like thousands of other Turkmen boys and girls brought up in Soviet times.

Incidentally, the Karyayev brothers have 12 daughters and 9 sons. Seven are students, and as many have already graduated from colleges or universities.

Most Americans believe that the Soviet citizen must be a basically unhappy person. One of the shocks that await a visitor to the Soviet Union is the discovery that his preconceived stereotype does not fit the facts as he finds them. It is disconcerting to find them not only happy but remarkably like Americans—friendly, informal, hospitable, with a sense of humor.

Konrad B. Krauskopf

Minister Djerem Mamedova

For years she wrote poems without ever making them public. But one day she ventured to mail some to a television station without indicating her address. The poems were recited, printed and finally set to music. Yet nobody suspected that the poet Djerem Mamedova and the woman enjoying a republic-wide reputation as Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen Republic and its present Minister of Social Security were the same person. The Minister has her hands full timing and financing the work on nursing homes for the sick and the aged and pre-thesis factories, among other responsibilities.

For example, in one year 19 million rubles was paid out in benefits to mothers of large families.

This poster illustrates the main goal of our society: "Everything—for the good of man, for the sake of man."





FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

Socialist Countries:
Rates of Economic Growth

THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES today account for 26.1 per cent of the world's territory, 32.6 per cent of its population and more than 40 per cent of its industrial output. They produce more than one-third of the aggregate national income. The establishment in 1949 of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance largely facilitated their rapid economic growth. Present CMEA members are Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, while Yugoslavia participates in the work of certain bodies. The interrelated economic development of Council members has ensured the swift and stable pace of expansion of their combined potential. The average annual rates of growth of industrial output in the CMEA countries are twice as high as in the European Economic Community. In the period from 1951 to 1976 they were 9.5 and 4.9 per cent respectively. The CMEA countries, whose industrial output in 1976 was 1.2 times less than that of the West European Community, now produce more than twice as much.

Mutual trade among the CMEA countries is expanding rapidly. In the years of the CMEA's existence, Soviet trade with the other Council countries has gone up by more than

The new Constitution of the USSR states that the Soviet Union promotes and strengthens friendship, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance with other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and actively participates in socialist economic integration and the socialist international division of labor.

16 times and in 1976 came to 28.8 billion rubles. As a result of the international division of labor, CMEA countries in 1975 met 82 per cent of their import requirements for machinery and equipment, 65 per cent for consumer goods and from 60 to 90 per cent for ferrous and nonferrous metals, energy resources and timber.

The Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, adopted in 1971, is of great importance to the national economies of the CMEA countries. The coordination of national plans for 1976-1980 has resulted in a target for the mutual supplying of goods over this period exceeding 300 billion rubles, an increase of more than 50 per cent over the previous five-year planning period.

MAJOR JOINT PROJECTS OF THE CMEA

The trunk 2,750-kilometer¹ gas pipeline from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR being built by Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

¹ One kilometer equals .621 miles.

The Ust-Ilimsk cellulose plant being built by Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union. It will be capable of producing 500,000 metric tons² of bleached sulfate pulp annually, with the USSR taking 295,000 tons and the other countries 205,000 tons.

The Kiyembayev asbestos mining and dressing plant, a joint project of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Capable of producing 500,000 metric tons of asbestos a year, it will raise the CMEA countries' asbestos resources by one-fifth.

The copper and molybdenum mining and dressing plant, Erdenet, in the People's Republic of Mongolia, a joint Mongolian-Soviet venture. This plant will become one of the world's 10 largest for the production of nonferrous metals.

The capacities for the production of nickel- and cobalt-containing products in Cuba, being reconstructed and newly built by Cuba, the USSR and other CMEA countries. When the capacities become operative, Cuba's annual nickel production will exceed 130,000 metric tons. A part of it will be supplied to the USSR and other CMEA countries.

² One metric ton equals 1.1 short tons.

This poster by Vyacheslav Davydov symbolizes the unity of socialist nations—there are now 15 in Europe, Asia and Latin America, 26.1 per cent of the world's territory and 32.6 per cent of its population.

Six decades is less than man's average life span. But in that period our country has traveled a way equaling centuries.

We have created a new society, a society the like of which mankind has never known before. It is a society with a crisis-free, steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations and genuine freedom. It is a society governed by the scientific materialist world outlook. It is a society of firm confidence in the future, of radiant communist prospects. Before it lie boundless horizons of further all-round progress. . . .

Finally, there is Soviet man, the most important product of the past 60 years. A man who, having won his freedom, has been able to defend it in the most trying battles. A man who has been building the future unsparing of his energy and making every sacrifice.

A man who, having gone through all trials, has himself changed beyond recognition, combining ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to use them. This is a man who, while an ardent patriot, has been and will always remain a consistent internationalist.

Leonid Brezhnev

Leonid I. Brezhnev,
General Secretary
of the CPSU Central
Committee and
President of the
Presidium of the
USSR Supreme Soviet



There is no country or people in the world, in fact, with which the Soviet Union would not like to have good relations;

there is no topical international problem to whose solution the Soviet Union would not be willing to contribute;

there is no seat of military danger in whose removal by peaceful means the Soviet Union would not be interested;

there is no type of armaments and, first of all, of weapons of mass destruction which the Soviet Union would not be ready to limit, prohibit on the basis of reciprocity, in agreement with other states, and then to remove it from the arsenals.

The Soviet Union will always be an active participant in any negotiations or any international action aimed at developing peaceful cooperation and strengthening the security of peoples.

It is our belief, our firm belief, that realism in politics and the will to pursue détente and progress will ultimately triumph and that mankind will be able to step into the twenty-first century with peace more stable than ever before. We shall do everything in our power to see that this happens.

Leonid Brezhnev

REVOLUTION, WAR AND DÉTENTE

By Vadim Nekrasov
SOVIET LIFE Commentator

LENIN called the 1917 Revolution in Russia "a revolution against war." Peace was the watchword of the October Revolution and of the new social system it established. Addressing the governments and peoples of all countries the day after the victory of the Petrograd rebellion, the Soviet Government confirmed the strong commitment of the newly emerging state to a just and democratic peace. Two years later, at the peak of the bloody Civil War, the Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the highest legislative body in Soviet Russia at that time, issued a special resolution, proposed by Lenin, in which it reaffirmed that our country "wishes to live at peace with all peoples and devote all its efforts to internal development." Ever since, the first socialist state in the world has firmly stood by this principle in settling international disputes by peaceful means.

This policy underlies the Soviet stand on détente. The Soviet Government believes that the immediate objective of the current process of restructuring international relations is to gradually reduce the importance of military strength as a means of ensuring security. Incidentally, this is the basic difference between our approach to security problems and the still widespread view that military strength is of primary importance, at least as a "deterrent." The advocates of this doctrine fail to realize the old maxim which still applies today: The higher the level of armaments, the more likely are the guns to go off.

PEACE PROGRAM

The Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (March 30-April 9, 1971) drafted a comprehensive program for the promotion of peace and cooperation among nations and the freedom and independence of peoples. The program included the following objectives:

1. Elimination of the hotbeds of war in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East and promotion of a political settlement in those areas; rebuff to any acts of aggression and arbitrariness; conclusion of international agreements on the repudiation of the threat or use of force in settling outstanding issues.
2. Final recognition of the territorial changes that took place in Europe as a result of the Second World War; radical turn toward détente and peace on the continent; convocation of a conference on security and cooperation in Europe; setting up of a collective security system in Europe; dissolution of military groupings on the continent or the dismantling of their military organizations.
3. Ban on nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons; discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests by everyone everywhere; establishment of nuclear-free zones; convocation of a conference of the nuclear powers on nuclear disarmament.
4. Intensive work to end the arms race, convene a world disarmament conference, dismantle foreign military bases, reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and curtail military spending.
5. Implementation of the UN decisions on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes and struggle against racism and apartheid.
6. Development and deepening of cooperation between nations in various fields.

The Peace Program proposed by the congress was fully supported by the socialist countries as well as by progressive public forces in other countries. It has become the spine of a foreign policy program for all the communist and workers' parties and for the governments of the socialist countries. Purposeful, unlagging and consistent efforts in carrying out the program are key elements of the Soviet Communist Party's activities in the international arena.

Doesn't the Soviet Union's antimilitarist position clash with its well-known view on history? Our belief that the world will inevitably become socialist in no way means that we plan to export revolution and impose the socialist system on other countries.

We believe that social transformation of the world is inevitable, but it will not be the result of a crusade. It will be brought about by the profound social and economic changes in the world resulting from the objective laws of development. The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphasizes that "the revolution is not made to order" and that no country can impose any "felicity" on another country without thereby undermining its own achievements.

Profound social change cannot be brought about by an agreement, nor can it be abolished by an agreement. Any interference from the outside to stop social change will eventually come to nothing.

Current developments in armaments and technology have made it abundantly clear that interference in the internal affairs of other states is senseless. The concept of peaceful coexistence means that each nation should recognize the right of every other nation to live by the social system it chooses.

The principles of détente do good only when applied to relations between states. Any attempts to spread one's own way of life to the sphere of international relations, where criteria of a higher order—averting a thermonuclear conflict and the preservation and progress of civilization—are at work, are harmful and futile.

REAL RIGHTS

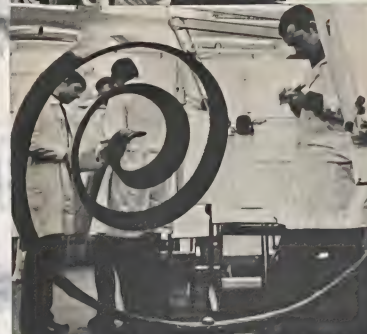
In creating a new order out of the chaos of 1918-1919; in clinging to power successfully for half a century in a great and variegated country where the exertion of political power has never been easy; . . . in realizing many of its far-reaching social objectives; in carrying to the present level the industrialization of the country and the underdevelopment of the new technology; . . . in these achievements, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union not only stamped itself as the greatest political organization of the century in vigor and will, but has remained faithful to the quality of the Russian Revolution as the century's greatest political event.

George Kennan
1967

Citizens of the USSR enjoy in full the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR and by Soviet laws.
Constitution of the USSR
Article 39



Above left: Twelve thousand workers listen to Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the meeting to celebrate the Likhachov Auto Plant's sixtieth anniversary. A thousand were awarded orders and medals for their outstanding work. Left: A department of an industrial design office in Moscow.



Below: These young workers of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Mill are carrying bouquets of flowers to present to the veterans who built Magnitka in the thirties.



The Bratislava gas pipeline will extend from the Ukraine to Czechoslovakia. Far left: Moving a drilling rig through the desert in Turkmenia. Left: The helicopter crew servicing the Central Asia—Center gas pipeline.

The right of every Soviet citizen to work at a job of his or her own choice is not only proclaimed in the new Constitution, it is guaranteed by the vitality of the planned economy. There has been no unemployment in the country since 1930, with jobs available always exceeding human resources.

WHAT RIGHTS DO WE HAVE?

By Vladimir Kartashkin
Candidate of Law

A comparison of the new Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with what the covenants on human rights and other international documents say about basic human rights and freedoms shows clearly the basic distinction of the Fundamental Law of the Soviet state. This distinction can be grouped under two principal headings. First, the basic human rights and freedoms recorded in the international covenants are already a reality in the Soviet Union, and the new Constitution of the USSR goes much further. Secondly, the new Constitution of the USSR, unlike the international covenants, in addition to proclaiming rights and freedoms, offers real guarantees for exercising them.

A detailed list of rights and freedoms contained in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights opens with the right of everyone to work (Article 6). Article 40 of the new Constitution records the right of all citizens of the USSR not only to work, but to guaranteed employment and remuneration for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality, including the right to choice of profession, type of occupation and employment in accordance with their inclination, abilities, training and education.

The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognizes the right of everyone to education, which comprises free and compulsory primary education and also the gradual introduction of free secondary and higher education (Article 13). The new Constitution of the USSR confirms the principle of free education at all levels and proclaims the universal compulsory secondary education of the youth (Article 45). The right to education, this

article stresses, is ensured by the extensive development of vocational, specialized secondary and higher education; development of education by correspondence and evening instruction; provision by the state of scholarship grants and other benefits to pupils and students; free issue of school textbooks; the oppor-

(Continued on page 63)

In my judgment a Soviet citizen enjoys complete freedom to criticize. But this is the kind of criticism that concerns actions, not people. It would be a mistake to think that a Soviet citizen does not voice his opinion or keeps his criticism to himself. This is wrong. He criticizes more and far more effectively than we do. A French worker will say: "My master is a villain."

A Soviet worker will not say: "The manager of my factory is a villain." But he will say: "This measure is absurd."

The difference is that a French worker will say this in a bar, while a Soviet citizen will speak out IN PUBLIC, taking the responsibility for this criticism before an official audience, for instance, before a session of a Soviet or a technical group of which he is a member, or a party meeting. His criticism may often be scathing, but it will always be positive in its meaning. What I have said about workers one can say about everybody else.

Jean-Paul Sartre
1954

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL: HARMONY OF INTERESTS

By Vladimir Lomeiko
SOVIET LIFE Commentator

The Soviet Union is the world's first state and society to rest on the premise that peaceful work is the only true source of human progress and happiness, both for individuals and for the community as a whole. This is a society realizing that one must not scrounge at the expense of someone else's labor. The USSR is a state building the new way of life. Does this not appeal to every person not intending to shirk his human duty and willing to fulfill his mission honestly without preventing others from peacefully doing the same?

Martin Andersen Nexø

AFTER ACCOMPLISHING a socialist revolution 60 years ago, we set ourselves the difficult task of gradually bringing the interests of society into harmony with those of the individual. In the previous stages of civilization, individualism had been encouraged, the individual was guided primarily by personal interests. The state became an instrument of subjection and suppression of the individual, and a psychology of distrust toward it developed.

The socialist state started off by abolishing the privileges of the propertied classes and making all citizens equal, not only politically but also economically and socially. It pledged itself to provide each person with work (unemployment was eliminated in the early thirties) and with free health services and education. It guaranteed pensions for the old and disabled. The effect of the growing evidence of concern for their people's well-being was to deepen the citizens' trust in the state.

While introducing public ownership and the collective management of our economy, we also tried to change the psychology of the individual, to get people to realize that when they worked for society, they were working for themselves, that their personal prosperity depended on the prosperity of the entire society; therefore, it was in the interests of each to contribute to the well-being of all.

I think that the participation of ordinary citizens in governing society and distributing the public wealth is central to harmonizing the interests of society and the individual. Here socialism grants each citizen unprecedented rights and opportunities. All sections of the population, and especially the workers and farmers, are represented in the local Soviets, the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous and union republics, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the leadership of all mass organizations. At present, for example, workers and collective farmers comprise more than half the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the highest organ of state power in our country.

The broad participation of ordinary citizens in the administration of the country compels them to develop a concern for the

interests of society and identify those interests with their own. Addressing the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1976, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the party's Central Committee, stressed: "We see the improvement of our socialist democracy as consisting . . . of a steady effort to ensure the ever fuller participation of the working people in running all the affairs of society. . . ." This is our goal.

A collective consciousness presupposes an understanding of the priority of public welfare over self-interest and personal gain. That is why, in addition to our broad rights, we have a number of responsibilities. Far from being forcibly imposed on us by society, they are consciously accepted by and constitutionally confirmed in the interests of all citizens of our country. In our society, for example, every able-bodied person must be engaged in socially useful work. We cannot just consume while giving nothing in return.

Does collectivism mean the leveling of individuals? Not at all. We believe that, on the contrary, it encourages the individual to self-expression and self-assertion within the collective. Broad rights and freedoms make people socially active and permit the fuller development of their creative potential.

To live not only by personal but also by public interests means to live a more full-blooded and richer life. When thousands of our people go off to develop the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and areas in the Far East and the Far North or to build the Baikal-Amur Railroad, their primary reason is a desire to help their country, though nobody will deny that higher wages are an incentive. They leave their friends and relatives, well-appointed apartments and the comforts of urban life in order to be of maximum use to their society. And the number of such people is growing all the time in our country. Our national goal of building communism, a society in which the main principle is "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," also greatly facilitates the harmonization of public and individual interests. The blueprint for this society, outlined by Marx, Engels and Lenin, has been adopted and endorsed by the citizens of our country. Our Constitution states that communism is the chief objective of Soviet society. It is toward this we have been steadily moving since the formation of our state.

"COOKS' CHILDREN" IN GOVERNMENT

By Alexander Mikhailov

IN THE 1890s Ivan Delyanov, Minister of Education in the czarist government, issued an order sharply limiting access to schools for children not only of peasants and workers, but also of handicraftsmen, tradespeople "and other non-genteel folk." There is no room for the children of cooks in high schools, said the minister.

This was when Vladimir Lenin was organizing the first cells of the future Communist Party in the working-class districts of St. Petersburg, at that time the capital of Russia. When the Soviet Government was established, Lenin, as if in reply to Delyanov, proclaimed the slogan: "Every cook should learn to take part in the administration of the state."

The cook, of course, personifies all working people. After the Great October Socialist Revolution it was necessary to solve the problem of participation of the working people in the management of production. This was an entirely new situation. There was no previous experience to rely on. The communists of Russia knew from the experience of the Paris Commune that it was necessary to nationalize the banks. With rare exceptions, the railroads in Russia were already state-owned. But what about the industrial enterprises? To transform capitalist property into socialist property was the most difficult of all problems. The capitalists fiercely resisted the economic measures of the Soviet Government. As the textile ty-

coon Pavel Ryabushinsky put it, they were eager to strangle the Revolution with the "bony hand of hunger." They stopped production at the factories and plants, concealed reserves of raw material and finished products and refused to deal with the issue of wages to the workers.

To prevent economic disaster, the capitalists had to be kept under control and their efforts at sabotage stopped. Immediate expropriation was the only way this could be done. But when the proletariat took power, it had no experience in economic management, nor had it yet set up any economic agencies that would be capable of taking over the management of the country's economic life. That was why the new government did not issue any decrees on the nationalization of industry, but introduced workers' control at the factories and plants that belonged to the capitalists. This meant that the workers of a given plant would elect special workers' commissions to supervise operations.

However, in a few months after the Revolution the capitalists began to take part in the Civil War, unleashed by the reactionary forces. The Russian counterrevolutionaries very soon joined hands with the foreign interventionists, and the Soviet Government was compelled to nationalize industry and appoint to executive posts foremen, workers and specialists who were willing to cooperate with the new system.

Thus, the actual conditions under which Soviet society took shape prompted the ways for solving its problems.

The forms of participation of the working people in the management of production have advanced very far in the 60 years that have passed since those days. The managers of the factories and plants are now the children of workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

The work of the administration of any factory or

plant is controlled by the local Soviet. Since the deputies to the Soviet live in the town over which the Soviet has jurisdiction and many of them work in the town's enterprises, there is a very close link between the Soviet and local industry.

The party and trade union organizations and the public control groups elected by the factory and office workers have the right to control and participate in management.

Every enterprise has what is known as a volunteer economic analysis bureau and societies of inventors and rationalizers. There are also other forms of participation in the management of an enterprise. Millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals act as correspondents of newspapers and periodicals. They are openly critical when they find things wrong. When a paper or magazine publishes a critical article about some official, the person concerned must reply to the criticism within two weeks.

At the present time the problem of introducing elected management at the factories and plants is being discussed. Volunteer personnel departments are being set up in lieu of administrative departments. The role of workers meetings and Permanent Production Conferences is being increased. Counterplans, i.e., plans elaborated by the factories and plants, and not those coming from the "top," have been playing an ever more important part in the work. Life does not stand still. Self-management is developing new and increasingly effective democratic forms of participation.

Let's analyze this matter. First, let's determine the initial position. Many progressives believed and continue to believe that the ideal solution is to turn the enterprise over to the people who work in it. The collective itself should decide what to produce and how to distribute the income. This, it would seem, is the ultimate in democracy, something that cannot be improved upon.

Scientific communism, however, has always described such notions as anarchosyndicalism, pointing out that they do not meet the objective demand for the socialization of production and its incorporation into a national economic plan. This, it can be said, is capitalism turned inside out. There is no exploitation, but social inequality and the absence of planning remain: One collective gets a modern electrical engineering plant, while another gets an old flour mill.

No, Marxism has a very different approach to democratic economic management.

The giganticly increased productive forces and the tremendous dynamism inherent in them require centralized guidance just as do Kennedy Airport in New York and Sheremetyevo Airport in Moscow, which cannot function without dispatcher control. A centralized and long-term economic plan encompassing the economy as a whole is objectively necessary, whether we like it or not. The creation of the Common Market and other such palliatives show that even under capitalism it is no longer possible to do without coordination and planning.

But perhaps the single plan fetters the initiative and enterprise of economic managers? No more than, or perhaps I should say as much as, a music score impedes musicians. After all, they do have to keep to it.

By forming a firm and stable basis of economic interrelationships and tasks, the single economic plan ensures the best organization of the work of designer and technologist, supplier and marketer, economist and commodity expert.

But, of course, we should not turn a blind eye to the problem that arises here. It is by no means that simple to combine the stability of

FORMULA, PREJUDICES, FACTS

By Professor Alexander Birman
Doctor of Science (Economics)

LENIN'S FORMULA "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country" was contained in his report to the Eighth Congress of Soviets in December 1920. Its importance is valid in our time, 57 years later, except that now we say: We must organically combine the advantages of socialism with the scientific and technological revolution.

Today, hardly anyone would deny the successes of "electrification," that is, the development of science and technology in the USSR, but all those years ago the plan for Russia's electrification was received with skepticism in the West. A utopian dream is what they called it. But that is the past. The attacks these days are directed against the system of economic management in the USSR.

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the plan with the dynamism of the scientific-technological revolution. This problem, however, is solved by perfecting planning, not by discarding it.

What we consider to be the basis of economic management is not just centralism, but democratic centralism. What does this mean in practice?

First of all, the active role of the masses in planning and administration. Today a great many working people are very much involved in the management of production. The collective agreements signed with management regulate virtually the entire work routine. The counterplans, which are drafted at enterprises, go "from bottom to top," to the USSR State Planning Committee, forming, in effect, the very same centralized plan that we have already mentioned. Its fulfillment is carried out under conditions of competition between work collectives. The list of indicators assigned to enterprises has been drastically cut since 1966. For example, there are two indicators for transport and trade and from five to six for industry and construction.

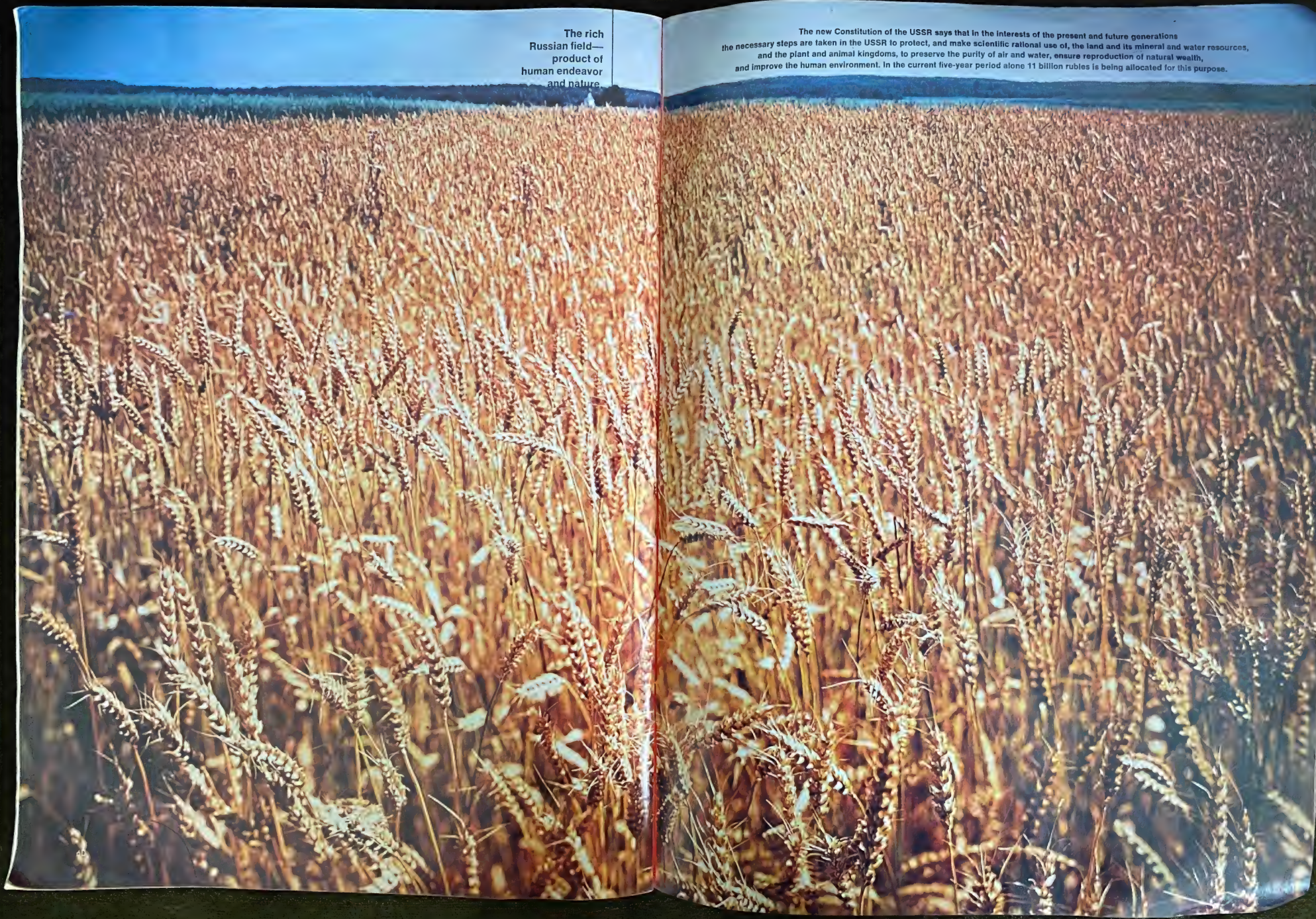
Impermissibility of set patterns. What is good for the Ukraine may not be good for Uzbekistan. Railroad transport has one set of conditions, the textile industry another, and still other conditions exist in viticulture or construction.

Impermissibility of dogmatism. Things change. What was good 15 to 20 years ago may turn out to be an impediment today or two years from now. To administer means to foresee.

Close connection between theory and practice. Impermissibility of abstract, pedantic, voluntaristic projects and plans. Everything new must be tested in practice, because practice is the criterion of truth.

The social part of the plan has become inseparable from its economic part and has acquired equal status with it. It provides for the satisfaction of the cultural, occupational and daily requirements of working people as formulated by the workers of every enterprise.

All this is what we call the road of gradual transition to communism: Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country, as we understand this in present-day conditions.



The rich
Russian field—
product of
human endeavor
and nature.

The new Constitution of the USSR says that in the interests of the present and future generations the necessary steps are taken in the USSR to protect, and make scientific rational use of, the land and its mineral and water resources, and the plant and animal kingdoms, to preserve the purity of air and water, ensure reproduction of natural wealth, and improve the human environment. In the current five-year period alone 11 billion rubles is being allocated for this purpose.

**THERE
ARE
260
MILLION
OF
US**



**RUSSIANS, UKRAINIANS,
ARMENIANS, ESTONIANS,
UZBEKS, KAZAKHS . . .
MORE THAN 100 NATIONS
AND NATIONALITIES,
BUT ONE UNION**

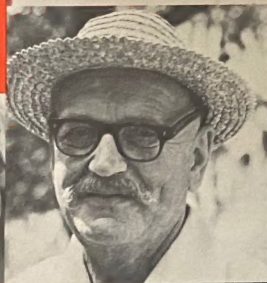
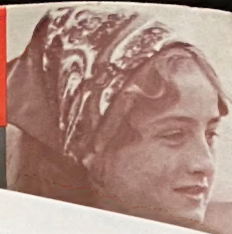
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City				
To:	Address	State	Zip	
City				
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A new historical entity of people, the Soviet people, has developed in our country. This means that common features of behavior, character, world outlook of Soviet people, features irrespective of social or national differences, become increasingly marked. This means that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which has always been the basis of the social system, has found its development in the indestructible political and ideological unity of these classes with the intelligentsia, which has long since firmly taken socialist positions. And today we can rightfully speak of the strong alliance of all working people, workers by hand and brain, the alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia as a fact of our reality. This alliance in which the working class plays the leading role, is strong and inviolable.

Leonid Brezhnev

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MILLION
OF
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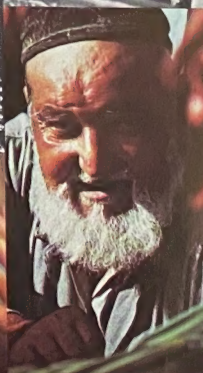


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BUT ONE UNION

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